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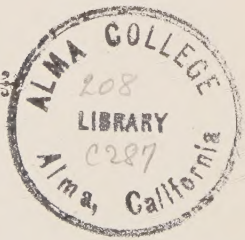

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Father Hermann.

(1820-1871.)

BY MRS. LIEBICH.

HERMANN COHEN was born of Jewish parents at Hamburg, in Germany, November 10, 1820. His father was a rich merchant, and held a high position in his native city, by reason of his wealth and his strict integrity in matters of business. The Jewish cult in Hamburg had undergone certain modern innovations, and beneath the hands of the so-called reformers many of its ancient rites had entirely disappeared.

As a child, Hermann went with his parents to the new synagogue, but instinctively took the keenest interest in any of the older ceremonies which still remained. "When," he writes, "I saw the Chief Rabbi ascend the steps of the sanctuary, draw aside a curtain and open a door, I experienced a wonderful feeling of expectation and hope." In vain did he try to penetrate and realize the meaning of the symbolic mysteries enacted before his eyes; his childish doubts remained unsolved—his investigations unanswered. This relish for religious ceremonies, these mysterious aspirations of his little soul, were but foretastes of the treasures of Divine grace in store for him.

Hermann was known as a "wonder child" in Germany. He made such rapid progress with his Latin and Greek studies that, at nine years of age, he found himself competing at school in a class composed of boys of fourteen and upwards. His extraordinary aptitude for music showed itself even earlier. At the age of six he could play the airs of all the operas then in vogue, and his talent for improvisation was remarkable. His first music-teacher was one of those men who justify their vagaries and excesses by sheltering themselves behind the title of genius. The precocious child, dazzled by the fantastic extravagances of his master, indulged in wild dreams of what his own future would be; and the glamour of a successful artistic career glittered before his eyes.

The following anecdote shows the latent energy and strength in Hermann's character, both of which were destined to be put to such exalted uses. His teacher had composed an excessively difficult piece of music, and had played it with great success at a public concert in Hamburg. Jealous of his master's triumph, the boy secretly secured the composition, and resolutely set himself to conquer its difficulties. When sufficiently satisfied of his own progress, he asked the professor to allow him to study the piece. Exasperated by what he considered undue presumption on the part of his pupil, the offended musician responded by boxing Hermann's ears. Whereupon the child tearfully rejoined: "At least let me try; and then you can judge better if it is altogether beyond my capacity." The presence of the boy's mother gained for him a somewhat unwilling assent. He then played the difficult composition with such ease and facility that the astonished and delighted master immediately took him the round of his friends, exhibiting him with pride as his little musical prodigy.

This episode helped to decide Hermann's future career. His mother consented to his ardent desire of adopting music as a profession and his father offered no opposition. The Cohens had just at that time experienced some heavy financial losses. The prospect

of their son becoming a great musician was therefore looked upon with no small amount of favour. In his "Confessions," written in after life at the command of his superiors, Father Hermann describes his boyish anticipation of a brilliant future.

"Successes, honours, renown, the pleasures of an artist's life, travels, adventures—all these rose up resplendent before my excited and precocious imagination. I longed to be of an age to realize all my dreams." His first religious impressions had become entirely obliterated. At his father's house he was surrounded by those to whom the love of Mammon was of paramount interest. "Our house," he writes, "was like unto an ant-hill—people constantly coming and going, talking incessantly of shares and stocks, or greedily counting money. The only marked distinction between them consisted in superlative degrees of wealth and fortune. Honours were meted out according to riches."

Hermann made his musical début in Altona. This concert was followed by a series of successes in the principal towns of Germany. Finally, Paris, the goal of his ambition, was reached. Little did he then foresee what was in store for him in that city, nor did he anticipate the real happiness he was to find there. His mother hastened to procure an introduction to the great pianist and composer Franz Liszt. Hermann played to him, and the great maestro showed his admiration for the clever child-artist by adopting him at once as his most privileged and favourite pupil. Into whatever society Liszt had the entrée, Hermann was to be found at his side. The gifted boy played to the great ladies of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and they spoilt and caressed him and vied with each other in loading him with tokens of their adulation. Invitations poured in on all sides, and dinner-parties and soirées were given in honour of the boy pianist.

Hermann's renown soon crossed the threshold of Paris drawing-rooms. The newspapers published his triumphs; sculptors and painters disputed for the honour of taking his portrait. His appearance was

singularly pleasing. His long hair fell negligently over his shoulders; his eyes were bright and full of keen intelligence,—his expression candid and amiable. The nickname of "Puzzi" given him by Liszt and George Sand, fitted him exactly. In English this word has no equivalent: derived from the German *Puzzig* it translates well into the dainty French name of *Mignon.*

As he grew to manhood, young Hermann experienced, amid all his gaieties and successes, an indescribable sadness. Vainly did he try to appease the longings of his soul by tasting new joys and pleasures. The feeling of satiety only gained renewed strength with each attempt to satisfy it. At the age of sixteen he left his mother's roof and thus becoming his own master gave himself up with freer and greater zest to vagaries of all kinds. "My music lessons," he writes, "procured me money, and money procured me pleasures. I gave the rein to all my whims and caprices. Was I happy? No, my God! The thirst that consumed me could not be quenched." He proceeds to describe the artists whose society he frequented; the nights spent in gambling; the unrefreshing sleep that followed. Little by little the delicate, highly-strung nature of the cultured artist shrank from his coarse and unrefined companions. He began to feel a distaste for the wild life they led. At last he found himself alone with his silent and deserted piano. "I experienced the void and solitariness which is so often felt by those who lead a desultory life. It penetrates into the haunts of pleasure seekers; sooner or later it gains the mastery over nearly every heart." Later on, writing in the solitude of his beloved Carmel, he recalled the emptiness and desolation of his soul amid the joys of the world: "Now again I am solitary, but how different it seems! My solitude is shared with Thee, O Jesus! Thou art with me all the days of my life . . . . Heretofore a frightful loneliness saddened and oppressed me. I sought distraction in evil books and in the society of those like myself. . . . But now, would I were always alone with Thee, O my God! How delicious is this solitude shared with Thee!

*In Carmel God and I!** How true it is!—Alone with God—and the days fly by on wings of happiness."

The remembrance of his mother, lonely and deserted, rose forcibly before Hermann's mind, and he resolved to return to her. She received him with love and solicitude as a prodigal son. But ere long his restless spirit re-asserted itself, and he persuaded his over-indulgent parent to accompany him on his travels. In 1846, after nine years spent in roving from one country to another, Hermann again settled down alone in Paris. He took up the threads of his old life and occupied himself with teaching, playing in public, and gambling. A passion for cards had taken possession of him, to the exclusion of all his former pleasures. He now vainly searched for happiness in the excitement produced by the gaming tables. And all the time God was slowly and surely weaning him from an unholy life, by inspiring him with disgust for all its puerile joys. Like another St. Paul, he was soon to find himself arrested by Divine grace on the world's broad highway. The hour was very near.

One Friday in May, 1847, Prince de la Moskowa, who was in the habit of conducting a choir of amateurs at the Church of St. Valère, in the Rue de Bourgoyne, came to Hermann and asked him if he would kindly act as his substitute that afternoon, as he was unable to fulfil his usual office.

Pleased to be of service to his friend, Hermann presented himself in the choir at the prescribed hour. He tells, in his "Confessions," that at the moment when the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given he "experienced a singular feeling of emotion at the thought of his own unworthiness in taking part in the ceremony." This emotion was nevertheless strong and sweet, and had "a most soothing effect." Each succeeding Friday he continued to take his friend's place as conductor, and always at the moment of the Benediction

* *Au Carmel Dieu seul et moi:* inscription engraved on the walls of Carmelite monasteries.

the same powerful unaccountable feeling took possession of him.

The month of May drew to a close, yet Hermann, utterly unable to account for the why and wherefore of his going, found himself assisting every Sunday at Mass at St. Valère. He felt, as it were, drawn towards some unknown ideal, and ardent aspirations surged within his soul. Before starting to give a concert at Ems, he made the acquaintance of the Abbé Legrand, who lent him Llomond's "Exposition of Christian Doctrine." At Ems he assisted at Mass on Sunday, and his own words best describe the marvels of Divine grace experienced within him. They are contained in a letter addressed to Father Marie Alphonse de Ratisbonne, whose wonderful and sudden conversion bears many points of resemblance to that of his correspondent. "Little by little, the chants, the prayers, the Presence—invisible, yet realized as a superhuman power—caused me to tremble with agitation—in short, it pleased God to dissolve me with the full force of His Divine grace . . . with fervour I invoked the most powerful and merciful God to engrave for all eternity on my heart the indelible impression of His beauty, to give me a faith proof against all obstacles and to fill me with gratitude proportionate to the greatness of the grace with which He had saturated me. I no doubt experienced somewhat of the feelings of St. Augustine when he heard in his garden at Cassiacum the famous 'Tolle, lege'—a little also of what you, dear Father, must have felt in the Church of St. Andrew in Rome when on the 20th of January, 1843, our Blessed Lady appeared to you." Father Hermann proceeds to describe the wonderful contrition vouchsafed to him for his past sins, and how spontaneously, and as it were by intuition, he began to make to God a general confession. Humbled as he was to the dust, he nevertheless felt an indescribable calm, accompanied by a certainty of God's forgiveness in consideration of his true and heart-felt sorrow. "On quitting that church at Ems I felt myself already a Christian . . . . at least as much a Christian as it is possible to be, short of receiving Holy Baptism."

On his return to Paris all traces of the former Hermann disappeared one by one. He shut himself up in his room, studied the doctrines of Christianity, and eagerly prepared for baptism. His deep and earnest faith, so plainly given him as a miracle of grace, enabled him to follow all the Catholic practices with ease. "Morning and evening prayers, Holy Mass, Vespers and Benediction, abstinence, chastity—I attended and observed all with facility and delight."

The day of his baptism was fixed for the 28th of August, the feast of St. Augustine. It is interesting to note the influence which this great convert and doctor of the Church exerted over Hermann. The first time he went to the church of Notre Dame des Victoires in Paris, a sermon was being preached on the life of St. Augustine. The spot where he chanced to kneel faced an altar dedicated to this saint. His godmother, the Duchesse de Rauzan, selected the name Augustine for him in baptism; and most of the presents given to him in the shape of books after his conversion were works relating to, or written by, the great Bishop of Hippo. Hermann's devotion to his patron saint continued unremittingly until his death.

Dating from his baptism in the Chapel of Notre Dame de Sion, the young neophyte made rapid progress in the path of perfection. But the thorns of raillery and contempt over which he had to tread were pointed and sharp; the impediments in the shape of custom and habit, long and clinging; and the rocks of memory and seduction, steep and slippery to climb and conquer. His natural temperament was energetic, fiery, passionate and proud, all of which tendencies had been fanned into flame by the adulation of a world of flatterers. Yet so unflinchingly did he set his will to co-operate with the Divine grace bestowed upon him, that in after life it was said of him, by one of his companions in religion "He was possessed of all the virtues in a manner not only sublime but heroic." The testimony of the Mother Superior of the Visitation at Paray-le-Monial is in accord with the foregoing;

"it was easy to discern," she wrote, "the marvellous progress of that eminently saintly soul; perhaps it was his intense humility which struck us most. His holy personality and sweet expression of countenance were as salutary and beneficial to us as his sermons."

From the moment of his conversion, Hermann's most ardent wish was to bid an eternal farewell to the world and his greatest desire "to find a quiet cell in a monastery, there to consecrate myself without reserve to the service of God." But his heavy gambling debts debarred him from executing this cherished project as promptly as he could have wished. He therefore determined to earn sufficient money to repay his creditors, and for two years he worked steadily with that end in view. His position was not without considerable danger to his soul. Forced constantly to revisit the scenes of his stormy past, he consequently found himself at each step confronted with temptations and occasions of sin.

In his journal kept during that time of trial he reveals the secret of his strength Daily and sometimes constant prayer was his only safe-guard in peril. If an interval, long or short, intervened during his piano-lessons, he would either recite the rosary, make a short meditation, read from a spiritual book, or recall some of the advice of his confessor; often the hour of midnight had struck before he took his well earned rest. His rosary wound round his arm, he would fall asleep—his last thoughts being of Jesus and Mary. The Blessed Sacrament was his most precious mainstay. Not a day passed without his hearing Mass, going to Holy Communion, or making several visits to the Blessed Sacrament as he passed the various churches on his way. Previous to his first communion, made on the Feast of the Nativity following his baptism, God on three different occasions gave him the singular privilege of experiencing the Presence of our Lord in his heart at the time when the faithful communicated at Mass. This extraordinary favour so indelibly impressed itself on his mind, that he constant-

ly alludes to it both in his writings and sermons. In the preface to his "Canticles of the Blessed Sacrament," he exclaims: "O my Jesus, am I not constrained to unite my harmonies to the chants and hymns of Paris—was it not in this great city that, still hidden under the sacramental veils, Thou didst unveil for me the Eternal Truth? And the first mystery Thou deigned to teach me, was it not Thy Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament? Jew as I still was, did I not long to approach Thy altar rails and to receive Thee into my heart? How is it possible to express the greatness of Thy condescension to me during that time of hope deferred—*Secretum meum mihi!*"

Towards the close of the year 1848, Hermann established his great work of the Nocturnal Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. One afternoon in November he entered the church of the Carmelite nuns in Paris, where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. Lost in adoration, he failed to notice that the evening was drawing to a close and the night setting in. A lay sister gave the signal for strangers to quit the chapel, previous to closing its doors. Hermann addressed her and said, "I will leave at the same time as those ladies who are kneeling at the end of the church." "Ah," replied the Sister, "but they are allowed to remain here until the morning." The "Convert of the Eucharist" as Hermann loved to call himself, then and there hastened to M. de la Bouillérie, at that time Vicar-General of Paris. "I have just been turned out of a chapel where women watch all night before the Blessed Sacrament." "Find some men," rejoined M. de la Bouillérie, "and I give you permission to imitate these pious women whose holy office inspires you with envy."

Without loss of time Hermann set himself to work to find amongst his Catholic friends some generous-hearted enough to help him found the confraternity. By the 22nd November he had gathered together nineteen members, and M. de la Bouillérie presided over, blessed, and inaugurated the new Association.

*

Thus, in the little sitting-room of the newly converted musician, sprang into existence the Association of Nocturnal Adoration, now spread over more than fifty dioceses in France and which flourishes to an almost equal extent in Spain, Germany, and Belgium. Besides its founder and president, two naval officers and a number of employés and working men constituted its initial members. The first nights were spent in adoration at the venerable sanctuary of Notre Dame des Victoires, and a marble tablet in that church perpetuates the memory of the foundation.

Two years spent in working for the glory of God, alternately with his professional tasks, and Hermann found himself free from debt. One last concert had to be given to realize a small sum wanted to make up a deficit and he was at liberty to break the chains that held him to the world. A thunder of applause resounded through the concert hall as he finally left the platform. Had the audience guessed that it was their favourite's last appearance in public, their enthusiasm would have overleapt all bounds. In the anteroom the tired pianist held out his arms to the Marist father who had accompanied him. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "it is then at last over! With what joy and happiness I played my final chords, and made my farewell bow to the public for ever."

Ere many months had come and gone, the worldly career of the brilliant artist was extinguished under the coarse brown serge of the Carmelite monk—the applause of concert-rooms exchanged for the silence and solitude of a cell in Carmel.

What more fitting order could Father Hermann have chosen than that of Our Lady of Mount Carmel—an Order intimately allied with the Old Law and the New, tracing its origin from the hermits who lived on the holy mountain in the time of the prophet Elias, and boasting of the first sanctuary erected shortly after Our Lady's death in her honour? Hermann was born a child of the Old Law: his regeneration had taken place under the New. In our Lady's month had occurred his singular conversion. Assiduous study of the works

of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross helped to fix his choice. On the 7th October, 1850, after the usual novitiate, and under the title of Father Marie-Augustin of the Blessed Sacrament, Hermann made his religious profession.

The General of the Carmelites was not slow to avail himself of the zeal and energy of the young Carmelite, and the foundations of the monasteries of Lyons, Bagnères de Bigorre, Carcassonne, and many others, owed much to his strenuous efforts. His labours were indeed unremitting. Neither obstacles nor apparent failure could discourage him; no amount of responsibility frightened him; neither did weariness or fatigue avail to prostrate him. There seemed no limit to the quantity of work he would undertake. He preached in all the principal towns of France and the conversions he made were numerous and wonderful. His previous brilliant renown, his extraordinary and sudden conversion, the numberless influential friends he had left behind him, all contributed powerfully to throw the Order which he had entered into strong relief. Many new novices joined the Carmelites attracted by his fame. Money flowed in as the result of his preaching and contributed materially to the building of new monasteries and foundations. The Order of Mount Carmel flourished and grew apace.

Schemes for the continual spread of the Association of Nocturnal Adoration were never absent from Father Hermann's mind. Like a beautiful haunting melody, his love of the Blessed Sacrament accompanied him wheresoever he went. It became the harmonic undertone of his life. It formed the keynote of his sermons and discourses. The full diapason of his glowing love vibrated in his impassioned addresses, and found echoes in the hearts of his hearers. Consequently, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Association of Nocturnal Adoration firmly established in every town which he visited, and where he made a point of preaching on this incomparably beautiful devotion. His first sermon after his ordination was on the Holy Eucharist.

The same subject inspired him four years later, when in the pulpit of St. Sulpice he preached to a vast multitude assembled to hear him for the first time in Paris.

To the enormous crowd, gathered together from all parts of the French city, and presided over by the Archbishop of Paris, Hermann began by humbly and simply relating a few of the details of his past conversion. Turning to the groups of young men round the pulpit, he reminded them that he had lived their life and shared their pleasures. His voice gaining in earnestness and power, he painted in graphic words his feverish search for happiness; his vain endeavours to grasp it amid all that was offered him along the paths of glory and renown; the mirage that wavered alluringly and despairingly before his wearied and bewildered eyes; the aching void left in his heart by the constant succession of unrealized illusions. He then went on to explain what constitutes real happiness and in stirring accents invited his auditors to share his new found joy. "God alone can satisfy the cravings of the heart of man." And the words sounded like an echo of those of St. Augustine, "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are not at rest till they rest in Thee." In metaphorical language Father Hermann proceeded to describe the state of his soul previous to his baptism. He related how he found himself one night walking amongst high precipitous mountains. A furious storm broke over his head, and in the great darkness he could only grope with difficulty along the side of a steep declivity. Flashes of lightning showed him at his feet a frightful and yawning abyss. A fall seemed inevitable. Suddenly a trail of light illuminated the surface of a neighbouring rock as he espied amid the granite a little golden door. . . . "My courage revived. . . . Breathlessly I dragged myself across briars and brambles, and arrived tattered, torn, and weary in front of the shining portal at which I knocked and at the same time called for assistance. Immediately there appeared on the threshold One resplendent in the beauty of immortal

youth, with an expression of radiant majesty on His wonderful countenance. He took me by the hand and led me within. Instantly the noise of the tempest was hushed to my ears; an ineffable calm descended upon my soul. I felt the soothing touch of a gentle hand leading me on and divesting me of my soiled garments. A delicious bath then restored me to health and strength. This bath not only cleansed me from all the stains with which I had been covered, but it healed all my wounds, infused new life into my veins, restored me my lost youth, at the same time exhaling such an exquisite perfume, that I longed to acquaint myself with its wonderful properties. . . ." He then tells of the banquet of bread and wine set before him—dwells on its marvellous restoring powers—narrates his vision of his host seated on a throne adored by angels, seraphim and cherubim—describes the voice like unto a celestial harmony which spoke to him in accents of purest music and which caused him to shed tears of love and sorrow. . . . . Finally he entreats his benefactor to tell him his name, in order that in unison with the angels, he may bless it all the days of his life. "And he answered me: 'I am called Love, I am the Eucharist, My Name is JESUS!'"

Such sermons were of frequent occurrence, and strongly influenced those who listened to them.

In the midst of a life of active work in the service of God, lived in obedience to the commands of his superiors, spent in giving retreats, Lenten courses, charity sermons, hearing confessions in English, Spanish, German, French, and Italian, baptizing Jews, and converting heretics, Father Hermann often experienced in his inmost soul a longing for solitude and the contemplative life. The foundation of the Holy Desert of Tarasteix was therefore a work quite in accord with his own heart.

The Carmelite sons of St. Teresa are divided into three branches: those who are sent as missionaries to foreign countries; those who in the different monasteries of the Order unite the active with the contem-

plative life; and thirdly those who, quite apart from the world, live the life of the primitive hermits. The same rule and constitutions are observed by the three branches; they constitute one family and all obey the same General. But the Holy Desert has its additional special rules. While their active brethren are combating in the world by giving missions, preaching and hearing confessions, the modern hermits, following as much as possible the example of those of old, guard and retain, as it were, the essence of the Rule of Mount Carmel as conceived by its early founders, the descendants of Elias and Eliseus. Thus they perpetuate the primitive spirit of the Order—the spirit of solitude, silence, contemplation, and prayer. The Holy Deserts also offer a retreat to the aged monks worn out and weary by incessant labour for the good of souls, who before making their last journey, find in these quiet homes time to prepare their own souls sweetly and peacefully for death. Again, those in the full course of their apostolic labours find in the Holy Desert, a halting-place where they can gain fresh health and strength, morally and physically, and return to their crusades braced and invigorated. With his usual energy Father Hermann devoted himself to the foundation of the Holy Desert of Tarasteix. The monastery stands a few miles from Tarbes, in the neighbourhood of Lourdes. Father Hermann gave the fortune which he inherited from his father towards the expenses of this foundation and the proceeds of the sale of his "Canticles of the Blessed Sacrament" are still devoted to the same purpose. The peace and quiet of the contemplative life was not yet to be the portion of the servant of God. Later we shall find him in the solitude of his beloved Desert, but he had yet much work to accomplish, not the least of which was that of his apostleship in England.

The year 1862 found him in Rome for the great festival of the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs. Cardinal Wiseman was in the Eternal City at the same time and for the same purpose. He there made the acquaintance

of Father Hermann, and, much struck by his holiness and zeal, expressed a wish to attach him to the Westminster diocese. For this purpose he addressed himself to the General of the Carmelites and pressed forward his urgent wish of re-establishing the Order of Mount Carmel in England. His request however was courteously refused; the help of the holy "Convert of the Eucharist" was still considered of paramount necessity in France, in the midst of the houses he had so recently founded. The Cardinal, far from being discouraged by this refusal, betook himself to the Holy Father. He urged such cogent reasons in favour of his desire, that he gained the intervention of the Pope in the matter. The General finally gave his assent, and the departure of Father Hermann for London was decided upon. Before leaving Rome he obtained an audience of Pius IX. who blessed him, saying, "I send you, my son, to convert the English, in the same way as, in the fifth century, one of my predecessors blessed and sent the monk Augustine, who was the first apostle to that country."

The sacrifice demanded of him was very great. The tender-hearted friar felt keenly the separation from his brethren in religion, from his many penitents, and from the country of his adoption. Asceticism and self-abnegation do not necessarily harden the heart, and the good Father, outwardly so calm and resigned, suffered inwardly all the more acutely. He passed through Paris on the 5th of August, and in order to defray the expenses of his journey, made a round of begging visits to his friends in that city.

Heretofore he had visited our great metropolis in the height of his artistic career and renown. He had then given several concerts and made a great deal of money. He now arrived unknown and uncared for, except by the good nuns of the Assumption, who received and lodged him in their house in Kensington. There were no friends and acquaintances to meet him, no success awaited him except what might be gained by hard renunciation and by the sacrifice of his own time and

health in the service of others. The constraint demanded by custom in England, in forbidding the monastic habit to the public gaze, was very irksome to him. He writes to his sister: "I cannot leave the house without having to exchange my Carmelite habit for a long black coat, a stiff white collar, and black cravat. This wretched collar imprisons my neck, my head, my thoughts, my heart; I feel half alive. But after all, is not the life of the cloister one of continual sacrifice? So what matters a little extra mortification, when it is a question of being able to render assistance to Catholics of all nations scattered over the immense city of London and often situated, some of them, far from all religious succour?"

The arrival of the zealous friar in London soon began to be bruited about. There were many who remembered his former concerts, and who talked about them and commented on his wonderful conversion. English curiosity is easily aroused, and English interest often quickly won. Father Hermann preached in the little chapel belonging to the nuns, and people came to hear him. At first curiosity led them to him, then, drawn by the irresistible fascination of the preacher, they returned again and again. Though not a great orator, Father Hermann nevertheless exerted a marvellous influence over his hearers His absolute simplicity and entire forgetfulnes of self, the warmth of his heartfelt words, and above all the sympathetic power of his appeals to the hearts of his listeners, rendered his sermons in many respects unlike any others and gained for him a success disproportionate to that of more academical and literary preachers. The good Father received many visits, which were followed by subscriptions towards the new foundation.

Finally, on the 15th of October, the Feast of St. Teresa, the Order of Mount Carmel was re-established in England. Father Hermann as Prior said Mass in the little chapel of a house belonging to the nuns of the Assumption, and with him were several friars arrived from the Continent, one of whom, Father Sebastian

Colin, still lives and works in the Westminster diocese. In the evening Cardinal Wiseman came to sanction the new foundation by his words and presence. It was placed under the protection of St. Simon Stock—"for was it not near London," wrote Father Hermann, "that Mary Immaculate gave the scapular to St. Simon Stock? Dating from that time she has, as it were, pledged herself to this land of England."

The Prior alone spoke English, so on him devolved most of the work connected with the little Priory. The Cardinal had placed in his hands the charge of all the Eucharistic Associations in London; he also named him examiner of the clergy and desired him to preach ecclesiastical retreats. Apropos of the first of these charges, he wrote to his sister, "anything and everything which gives me the opportunity of occupying myself about the Blessed Eucharist is dear to me, and the Cardinal has rightly divined the special attraction of my soul." On the 6th of August, 1863, the anniversary of his arrival in England, Father Hermann established the Nocturnal Adoration in England. He wrote to one of his friends, "A Confraternity of the Nocturnal Adoration is started in London. We have just passed a night before the Blessed Sacrament exposed in our chapel in Kensington, I am exceedingly rejoiced and I hope the Association in Paris will give thanks to our Lord for this success."

Aided by the enthusiastic zeal of its Founder, the new Confraternity enjoyed a short span of life. Speaking at the Eucharistic Congress at Malines, Father Hermann said: "The Nocturnal Adoration for men is now established in London, and takes place several times in each month throughout the year. These holy nights, in which a goodly number of converts pray before the Divine Eucharist for the conversion of their brethren, are observed with an edifying fervour which could hardly be surpassed. . . . It meets, however, with serious obstacles in the character, habits and ideas of a people, who are essentially lovers of the comfortable (*amateurs du confortable*), and among whom a certain rigour in the

observance of social inequalities, renders any fusion of the different classes of society extremely difficult." The Association is still kept up by the Carmelite Fathers in Kensington. The Nocturnal Adoration begins at 10 p.m. every Wednesday and terminates with holy Mass at 6 o'clock the following morning. Every Wednesday in the Carmelite Church, in Kensington, the Blessed Sacrament is raised aloft and exposed in the silent watches of the night. A succession of white cloaked friars keep up uninterruptedly the hours of intercession and adoration. At midnight their solemn office of Matins and Lauds accentuates the prevailing solemnity.

The strong tide of sin and suffering is still around us, as in the days when Father Hermann's love and zeal established this much needed means of propitiation in our midst. Faith has become stronger, and Catholics have greatly increased in numbers, nevertheless no watchers present themselves to intercede for the millions who nightly, in this great Babylon of ours, are tossed and buffeted on the deep seas of temptation and vice. Every Wednesday night the calm and hush of Tabor is for those who would taste of its delights. Yet for many a long year the laity have discontinued taking any part in this exquisite and beautiful devotion, and vacant prie-dieus tell a silent tale of laxity and desertion.

In a year from the time of the London foundation, the number of Carmelites having considerably augmented, the house in Kensington Square became too small for their accommodation, and the necessity of finding a more commodious building made itself urgently felt. Father Hermann bethought himself of a house in Church Street surrounded by a large garden, in which he had already planned in imagination the foundations of a new church. The owner, an octogenarian of the name of Bird, was known to have strong prejudices against Catholics and their religion. Undaunted by this knowledge, Father Hermann called on Mr. Bird and proposed to rent his house and establish therein his friars. The good Father, by his gay and amiable

manner, so charmed the old Protestant gentleman, that he there and then abandoned his prejudices and willingly entered into the arrangements for the letting of his house. The building was quickly transformed into a friary, and on St. Teresa's day the friars took possession of their new abode.

The Fathers became more and more esteemed, and Catholics lost no time in helping them with money and provisions. Many delighted in sending regularly the necessary repasts, ready prepared for each day. All this aroused a great deal of sectarian hatred, and the Fathers had to endure their share of persecution and contempt. Circumstances, however, shortly arose which placed their charity and devotion in strong relief, and enabled them to appear in public with all the signs of their holy religion.

Five young sailors, natives of the Philippine islands, had been condemned to be hanged at the Old Bailey for piracy and murder. Father Hermann, who spoke Spanish fluently, and the novice-master, who was a Spaniard, obtained permission from the Governor of Newgate to spend some hours daily with the prisoners. The gentle, loving sympathy extended to them by the two Carmelites worked its way through their rough exterior, and in the fortnight intervening between their sentence and its execution these wolves were turned into lambs. Father Hermann preferred his request to the authorities to be allowed to administer Holy Communion to the prisoners, and the request was complied with.

The greater part of the night preceding the execution was spent by four of the condemned in prayer at the foot of a crucifix, and before dawn broke the Carmelite Fathers were in the prison to give them the Holy Viaticum and to spend the remaining hours admonishing and encouraging the penitent sinners. "Never," related Father Hermann, "during the thirteen years that I had been a priest, had I so strongly experienced the power and efficacy of the Blessed Eucharist and the priesthood."

To the astonishment of the thirty thousand spectators

the condemned men were escorted to the scaffold by three Carmelite priests. Leave having been previously courteously given by the prison authorities, the cross, rosary and scapular were worn visibly by each prisoner, but no hostile murmur arose On the appearance of the Fathers by the side of their penitents, the cry of "hats off," ran through the crowd and every head was quickly uncovered. The friars pressed round the prisoners and held before them the crucifix which they kissed, reciting aloud the acts of faith, hope and charity and contrition, and invoking the names of Jesus and Mary. The gaping crowd was much impressed by the devotion shown by the three Catholic priests and the precaution taken of ordering two police officers to escort them home proved unnecessary. On all sides, signs of deep respect were manifested. But in the sequel to this quintuple execution, the marvellous power of the Catholic faith is most markedly shown. Father Hermann relates it thus—"The *Times* newspaper observed that, when the corpses were inspected in the afternoon, it was noticed with surprise that, contrary to the effects produced by this manner of death, the faces of four of the men had undergone no alteration, but were calm and composed, 'as if in a gentle sleep,' while the fifth was hardly to be recognized from the fearful contortions caused by the last agony. The same journal gives the name of this unfortunate man. He alone was not a Catholic. The Blessed Eucharist had left its stamp upon the rest. This Divine Sacrament, while preserving their souls to eternal life, had also preserved their countenances, the mirrors of their souls, from distortion . . . . Forty years ago no priest would have been able to reach them: no man under sentence of death could have been fortified with the 'Bread of the Strong,' the 'Bread which came down from Heaven;' nor at that time, would the London populace have endured the sight of a Catholic priest by the side of a convict on the scaffold of the Old Bailey."

Father Hermann made the execution of the Spanish

sailors the subject of an address at the Eucharistic Assembly at Malines in 1864. *L'Independance Belge*, a Freemason journal, took occasion to use it as a text for an abusive article, abounding in ridicule and calumny against the artist-monk. This article was immediately reproduced by the *Times*. Just at this time Mr. Bird was considering whether his prejudices would or would not interfere with his wish of selling his house outright to the friars, and thus allowing it to become a Catholic institution. The *Times* article happening to fall under his notice, produced upon him a very different effect from what the writer could have intended. "The man who can excite such enmity," he reflected, "must be possessed of a vast deal of intrinsic worth," and he sent across the street for Father Hermann. "Ha, ha, Father," exclaimed the old man smiling and holding out the newspaper, "fine things are here said about you!" Then motioning the friar to a chair and adding a few kindly words, he continued, "I sent for you to-day because I am in a greater hurry now to sell you my house than perhaps you are to buy it. Not that I am in want of money; my children will have plenty, thank God; but what I read in this newspaper has so well disposed me in your favour, that I want to enter into negotiations and terminate this business with you at once. Who knows? Later I might not be of the same mind."

Father Hermann did not need telling twice. The deed of purchase was drawn up and signed and the religious thus became proprietors of the house and large garden. The beautiful gothic church, now so well known to the inhabitants of Kensington and its neighbourhood, was shortly begun; and Father Hermann wrote on the 13th August, 1866, to his sister, "Our festivities for the inauguration have been splendid, very consoling, and well attended. We have a beautiful church, an excellent organ by Cavaillé, and—plenty of debts: but these are the affair of our Father, St. Joseph." During the three years of his office as Prior in London, Father Hermann devoted himself heart and soul to

furthering the cause of our holy religion. The Association of Thanksgiving was established, the procession of the Scapular drew together a number of the faithful every month, and at the request of the Cardinal an Association was founded on behalf of the Souls in Purgatory. At the same time continual journeys were undertaken for the purpose of giving missions in Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, and Prussia and yet none of the works undertaken in England were allowed to suffer. Referring to this constant travelling Father Hermann once remarked, "In spite of my conversion I am always the Wandering Jew!" He was asked one day at a railway station: "But, Father, where is your place of residence?" "In the railway carriage!" he replied, with a half smile and a smothered sigh at having to lead such an agitated life.

At the completion of his term of years as Prior he left London for much needed rest at Broussey and from there he was sent to the Holy Desert of Tarasteix. It proved his last halt on earth. In the midst of beautiful scenes, surrounded by fresh woods and valleys, the songs of birds and the murmurs of running waters he tasted of the silent and solitary life he had so long craved for. "I long for the Holy Desert," he had written to his nephew; "I look forward to it as to an anteroom of Heaven." "Never," he wrote in October, 1869, "have I so clearly realized the attraction of the contemplative life. In spite of my expansive nature, which has hitherto required a continual activity, I taste a most ineffable peace in this sweet retreat where Jesus has allowed me to repose myself." Ere three years had past, he had traversed the anteroom and entered on the Great Rest beyond.

Father Hermann's temperament was at all times more suited to the active than to the contemplative life, and Divine Providence seemingly had chosen him for the apostleship of souls in total opposition to his own aspirations towards the hidden life of the cloister. In the early days of the foundation of Tarasteix, the saintly Curé d'Ars had written to him these prophetic

words: "You do well to work at the foundation of a desert, but you will not derive much profit from it for yourself." It was in the designs of God that he should lay down his life for the salvation of souls redeemed by the Precious Blood; and in order that the victim might be made worthy of the sacrifice God called him for a time to the foot of the Tabernacle, in order that he might purify himself and so unite his soul more and more with the Victim of Love on the altar.

In 1870, Father Hermann was once again called to the active life. The war broke out between France and Germany. Many of the Carmelite houses in the south of France were besieged and pillaged, and their inmates ejected with violence. Fearing his nationality being made a pretext of revolutionary hate and spite and dreading the consequences to his brethern of his residence among them, he obtained permission from his superiors to give up his post as master of novices at Broussey and quit the country. He accordingly made a retreat at Tarasteix, visited the foundations of Bagnères and Carcassonne, played the organ there for the last time, and left for Geneva, where Monsignor Mermillod received him with the greatest cordiality. In obedience to the desires of this prelate, he finally took up his abode at Spandau, in Prussia, among the French prisoners detained there and deprived of religious succour. The German authorities had forbidden the ministrations of the French clergy amongst their imprisoned compatriots. Mgr. Mermillod bethought himself that Father Hermann, by reason of his Teutonic birth, his missions in Berlin, and his former relations with the court of Prussia, might be perhaps welcomed by the Prussian Government. His prevision proved correct. On the 24th November, the feast of St. John of the Cross, having first applied for the blessing of his superior-general on his new mission, the holy Carmelite left Switzerland for Spandau with these prophetic words on his lips: "Germany will be my grave."

He found the poor French soldiers living in the

greatest misery. He spoke to them of their country, exhorted them to bear patiently their sufferings and to offer them to God for the salvation of their nation. He talked to them of their own souls, of the necessity of their making their peace with God; and told them he had come amongst them to help them in all their wants; to give them love and comfort as to his own brethren. He exhorted them to come to the presbytery and there in all simplicity to tell him their sorrows and desires. On the 12th December, he wrote to his sister-in-law: "The prisoners are beginning to come to confession; this evening eight came to me for that purpose. It seems always our Divine Master's pleasure to give me a certain amount of success in my work. Never before have I been placed in the midst of such a vast field of souls to be gained for Jesus." On the 22nd December, he again relates his occupations and his joys: "The prisoners besiege me from eight in the morning until evening . . . . They have permission to come to the presbytery. They either come for spiritual advice or to enlist my sympathy in their sufferings which are very great. They return me all the love I lavish on them . . . . We have now on an average fifty soldiers a day for confession and Communion."

The church was badly warmed and consequently very cold, and the long hours spent in the confessional told severely on the good Father. Much of his time was also spent among the sick, most of whom were suffering from small-pox. On the 8th January, he went to Berlin, to spend a sum of £80 which had been sent him in purchases for his prisoners. The following words of a friend who met him in that city and who was a witness of his last days will be of interest to readers of this little sketch of his life: "In the evening, I was, together with several others, in the little sitting room of the presbytery of St. Hedwige, which was always placed at Father Hermann's disposal when he visited Berlin. While he was engaged in conversation with those around him, I narrowly observed his physiognomy and an attentive scrutiny convinced me that he was nearing

the end of his laborious career. I noted his calm yet pale face, his fatigued yet serene expression. In imagination I seemed to see an aureole hovering over his head. I mentally compared the impression with which he inspired me, to a glorious sunset at the close of a perfect day. Knowing how evanescent are its colours one lingers to watch their beauty as they fade away. . . . On Friday, 13th January, his eldest brother came for me to accompany him to Spandau. Father Hermann was ill: at his side we found a nursing sister. 'Well, Father,' he said, 'I have caught the small-pox, and I want you to take my place with the prisoners during my illness.' I answered him that I hoped it would please God, soon to restore him to health for the sake of the souls under his care. His eyes fixed on the crucifix, he calmly replied, 'Well, no! this time I hope God will take me.' In the evening the fever had increased and delirium had set in."

On the 15th January the parish priest of Spandau gave him the last sacraments. He renewed his vows and in spite of his sufferings intoned the Te Deum, the Magnificat, the Salve Regina and the De Profundis. He then kept his eyes fixed in the direction of the church, as if to unite himself more and more to Jesus in the Blessed Eucharist.

He asked to see his brothers, all of whom had followed his example and joined the Catholic Church. They arrived unfortunately too late to receive his last breath. On the evening of the 19th the nursing sister asked him if he would like to see his confessor. "I am then about to die," he said: "God's Holy Will be done! It is best so—for were I to get well I should yet see many sorrowful things—but, still I would have liked to have worked a little more and gained souls for Jesus." He made his confession and with the utmost fervour received the Holy Viaticum at 9 o'clock for the last time. At eleven his two nurses (a Jesuit lay-brother and a Sister of Charity), asked him for his blessing. He tried to raise himself so as to perform the pious act with greater

dignity and stretching out his arms he slowly and reverently pronounced the words of blessing. Fatigued with the exertion he fell back, murmuring, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" They were his last words

Calmly and peacefully he awaited his end. At ten o'clock on the following morning the devoted servant of God gently breathed his last. His body lies buried in the Church of St. Hedwige, Berlin, where he had so often lifted his voice in praise of his Divine Lord and Master in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Born with all the gifts of nature that constitute the making of a great artist, Hermann Cohen became by the help of the gift of God's grace, a good and holy religious. His strong artistic temperament, keenly susceptible to impressions of all kinds, had, so to speak, merged the æsthetic craving for beauty common to all artists, into one supernal admiration and longing for the source of all created and uncreated beauty. It is a well known fact that of all types of humanity, those who are possessed of the artistic disposition are the most insatiate for sympathy. The greater the artist and the more powerful his ideas, emotions, and feelings, the stronger will be his desire to communicate the thoughts which have stirred him to others. Hence the chef-d'oeuvres of painting, sculpture, music and literature, are the outcome of their creators instructive desire to convey in outward form and to share with others the impressions which become too heavy to carry alone.

Father Hermann was possessed of a large amount of sympathetic impulse and when once the divine art of holiness was made manifest to him he longed with all the strength of his enthusiastic nature to impart to others the circumstances, impressions and convictions which had so strongly stirred his soul. "I have often heard him say," said one who had known him for many years, "that to save a soul he would go to the other end of the world, even if he knew that he should have to die there. And, in fact," adds the same person, "so

that he could benefit a soul, nothing seemed to cost him anything, neither sickness, trouble, journeys, nor fatigue of any kind; nothing stopped him, if he thought that he could soothe pain, console sorrow, or get an opportunity of making God a little more loved."

It is impossible to convey any adequate idea of Father Hermann's great love for the Holy Eucharist. His zeal and devotion won him the titles of Apostle of the Eucharist, Angel of the Tabernacle. "I only know one more beautiful day than that of one's First Communion," he wrote to a young girl: "It is that of one's Second Communion: and so on for the rest."

"I would fain," he said, a few months before his death, "communicate every hour of my life: there is no happiness like this."

The effects of Father Hermann's love and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament may be likened to a succession of beautiful overtones resulting from one perfect chord, ascending one above the other until they are lost to the listening ear. The Association of Nocturnal Adoration and the Confraternity of Thanksgiving are rich in endless adumbrations of prayer and praise, the gentle vibrations of which are carried far beyond human ken upwards through choirs of angels, to the throne of God. Father Hermann had a tender and filial devotion to the Blessed Virgin. "Jesus and Mary!" he exclaimed at the opening of a course of sermons for the month of Mary:—"Jesus and Mary have drawn me to them. Mary led me to Jesus; Mary who gave me Jesus. To her I am indebted for the Blessed Eucharist and the Eucharist has robbed me of my heart, and thrown over me a spell so potent that I have ever since desired only to live for Jesus and Mary. I have given myself to Jesus in the order of Mary and am the monk of Mary and the priest of Jesus."

. . . . . .

These words of the distinguished French writer, Louis Veuillot, sum up the general admiration evinced on all sides for this noble and sainted life. They are reprinted from the *Univers*. "Our old and dear friend

the venerated Father Augustin-Marie of the Blessed Sacrament, Discalced Carmelite, died last month at Spandau. A convert from Judaism, not content with conversion only, he took orders and embraced the monastic life. The world remembered and continued to call him by the name which his musical talent had rendered famous—that of Hermann. He was always a good and holy religious, ascetic, gentle, earnest in the strict observance of his severe rule. He went about barefoot, collecting alms, exhorting, preaching, founding monasteries; obedient in his ardour, humble in his success.

"He died at Spandau, whither he had been sent to organize religious succour for the relief of the French prisoners. His self-abnegation was thorough in all he undertook; the work therefore succeeded, but at the cost of his life. The letter which briefly apprised us of his apostolic end also acquainted us of the fact, that he had been unable to resist the ill-effects of overwork and that those around him had been powerless to induce him to take other rest than the repose of death, which God finally sent him as his reward. Having become what he was by the grace of God, it was meet that Hermann should die thus."

THE CHURCH AND LABOUR.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. ABBOT SNOW, O.S.B.*

I. The Church and the Slave.

Our Blessed Lord taught by word and deed. He made atonement for the sins of the soul, and He had compassion on the ills of the body; He brought light to the mind by His doctrine, and He brought health to the body by His touch and His word. In the instructions to the seventy-two disciples He told them: "And heal the sick that are therein, and say to them, The Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. . . . And the seventy-two returned to Him with joy, saying, Lord, the devils also are subject to us in Thy Name" (Luke x., 9-17). The Church has carried out the instructions of her Divine Master. She has not only gone forth to teach all nations whatsoever He had commanded, she has also healed the sores of society, lightened oppression and tyranny, and brought solace to suffering and misery. We stand in admiration at the spread of the Christian faith, we trace intently the followers of the

* Four Lectures delivered at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, Advent 1895.

fishermen until they had planted the Cross on the throne of the Cæsars, and we scarcely notice the stupendous process of purifying and healing the corruption and degradation of society. The darkness and distortion of the human mind at the birth of the Church were surpassed by the foulness and rottenness of the human heart. Prominent amongst the social evils of the time, and permeating the whole structure of life and action, was the curse of slavery.

Our ideas of freedom and citizenship make it difficult to estimate the influence of slavery on social life in the early days of Christianity. The Roman dominion was spread over almost the whole world, and Roman power was bred and nourished with slavery, which grew and increased steadily from the days of the early kings. When a debtor had neither money nor goods with which to satisfy his creditors, he paid his debt with his body and became a slave; the criminal atoned for his crime by slavery. Captives in war were kept as slaves, and the great conquerors in Asia, Africa, Scythia, Gaul, and Britain brought home their thousands of prisoners to be sold by public auction. Slaves were purchased at every mart on the confines of the Empire; they were kidnapped; they were regular imports with a tax on them to swell the imperial revenue. The slave was the property of his master, in the same sense as a horse or a dog. The text of the law speaks of "slaves and other animals." The slave had no legal rights. His master could kill, mutilate, torture, chain, or imprison him at pleasure and with impunity. He was regarded and dealt with as an inferior being. This treatment did not grow from custom or from the forbearance of the authorities, but was the accepted declaration of the law. The educated men of antiquity, the leaders of thought, acquiesced in the righteousness of slavery. Plato and Aristotle treat of it as natural and necessary, but somewhat embarrassing. Not one of the celebrated writers, save Seneca, raised his voice against its injustice and iniquity.

Slaves monopolized nearly the whole of the labour of the period. They were employed in the house, in the

farm, in building, in manufactures, in the mines, and even in art work, in medicine, and teaching. Their numbers made it difficult to keep them occupied, and they were let out on hire, the master receiving the pay and the slave merely his food. Freemen who had no means of support did not work; they lounged about in idleness, attached themselves to a patron, haunted him, and fawned upon him for bread. They became dissolute and dangerous, and to prevent riots and trouble the emperors were at length obliged to feed them daily with bread, and to feast them with the shedding of blood in the amphitheatre. The slave, then, was the workman of the day—a workman without any wages, and with what food his master chose to allow. He worked under the dread of the lash or imprisonment at the caprice of his owner or overseer. He had no legal remedy nor redress for injustice. If the master were good-tempered or considerate his lot might become tolerable; but the sternness and imperiousness of the average Roman, and the possession of absolute and irresponsible power over those whom he considered to be inferior beings, made him heedless of their thoughts and feelings. On the estate they were under the control of an overseer, himself a slave, who assigned them their tasks, and under penalty of his own life and liberty, saw that they did them. Idleness entailed the lash, and attempts to escape involved working in chains and at night sleeping together in prison under guard. The mines and manufactures were conducted on similar lines. The household of a rich man was crowded with slaves; there were slaves of the toilet, slaves of the bath, slaves of the entrance, slaves of the kitchen, slaves of the table, slaves for entertainment, slaves for messengers, slaves of the library, slaves of the stables, slaves for chair-bearers, slaves for footmen, slaves for protection. These, unlike the rustic slaves, were in frequent contact with their master, and their daily comfort depended from hour to hour on his caprice and on his good or bad humour. A Roman lady sat at her toilet with a stiletto in her hand, with which she stabbed the arms of her maids when they displeased her.

The condition of the slave was thus helpless and nearly hopeless. He cringed, and flattered, and lied to gain goodwill. If he ingratiated himself sufficiently he might gain his liberty, but the State did not encourage manumission. A kind master would occasionally give a favourite his freedom—sometimes by will, usually by a public legal process. At times he allowed a slave to keep gratuities, and thus gave him a chance of purchasing liberty. At any moment the slave could be sold or given away. He had no religion; his own cultus, if any remained, was crushed, and he was excluded from the ceremonies in the temples or at the family hearth. He could not legally marry; his contubernium or union could be dissolved at any time by his master, and the parties compelled to a fresh union with others. The children belonged to the master, who disposed of them as he pleased; he might send the father to the Italian farm, the mother to the estate in Gaul, and assign the children to be brought up by others. An instance is recorded—may it be only an instance! of a testator bequeathing a mother to one legatee and her unborn child to another. The condition of female slaves can scarcely be spoken of by Christian lips. In a dissolute and licentious age they were at the mercy of their masters, and were at times hired out for prostitution.

The effect of the state of things on both slave and master was simply degrading. It contributed to the luxury, the impurities, the callousness and the cruelty of the times. The rich man's child caught the taint from the cradle; the slave dared not contradict or thwart it. If a pedagogue ventured to correct a pupil, the young hopeful turned on him to remind him that he was but a slave. Education became a system of flattery and pandering to the passions of the young patrician. As he grew up he was surrounded by a set of fawning creatures, whose well-being and comfort depended on his whims and fancies. He reckoned their life and liberty as merely subservient to his humour of the moment. The consciousness of absolute power and absolute control over them engendered an imperiousness and a callousness that stifled the finer

feelings of his nature. This dominion over human flesh and blood explains his pleasure in the cruelty and blood-spilling of the amphitheatre. Who can depict the moral character of the slave? Deprived of home and domestic affections, without religion, without aspirations, with little hope of release, in constant dread of punishment or sale, or consignment to harder usage, all his thoughts and feelings were crushed into the one aim of propitiating his master, like a cowed animal under the eye of its owner. The extent of the social evil may be estimated from the number of slaves. In Italy at the time of Claudius, A.D. 50, there were 20,832,000 slaves, and 6,900,000 freemen. Wherever the Roman went he retained his institutions, his laws, and his customs. The Roman governors took with them their troops of slaves to their provinces, the officials kept up their retinue of slaves in all the towns, the merchants employed slaves in the traffic at distant ports, the estates were worked by slaves, so that it is difficult to judge of the immense number that were scattered over the vast empire. Besides the slaves of the Roman rulers, the conquered nations from Gaul to Persia had their own slaves under their own institutions.

Into this seething mass of moral corruption came the twelve fishermen, to teach all nations to observe whatsoever our Blessed Lord had commanded them. What a task! To bring the light of faith to the human mind and soul darkened by idolatry and passion was daunting enough; but to fulfil their commission of healing the sick, and in His Name to cope with the corruption of slavery that had spread over the whole of the social organism, seemed to be beyond their strength. St. Peter bade the lame man to rise up and walk, and he, leaping up, stood and walked. Had the Apostles commanded these millions of slaves to shake off their fetters and arise freemen, it would have produced a pandemonium. Unfit for government or self-control, the loosening of their pent-up passions would have swept away all social bonds in massacre and pillage, and left them in confusion and anarchy, and without food. The institution of slavery held together the whole fabric of society; it was engrained

in the laws, customs, habits, property, pleasures, interests, luxury of the people. To suggest its abolition would have turned every class against the innovator: it must be a work of ages. The first step of the rising Church was to combat current ideas, and correct erroneous notions by teaching that slaves were neither a degraded race nor an inferior nature, but that they could participate equally in the spiritual graces that were offered by Christ. This St. Paul proclaimed in the Epistle to the Galatians: "There is neither Jew, nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus." To the Corinthians he says: "For in one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether Jew or Gentile, bond or free" (1 Cor., xii., 13). To the Colossians: "Where there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all" (Coloss. iii., 11).

Lest this explicit declaration of equality should incite slaves to insubordination or rebellion he enjoined obedience and submission. But what obedience, and why? Obedience to a higher authority, God, Who was the maker and ruler of both slave and master. He writes to the Ephesians: "You, slaves, obey those who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your hearts, as to Jesus Christ Himself. Not serving to the eye, as it were pleasing men, but, as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. With a good will serving, as to the Lord and not to men. Knowing that whatever good things a man shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free." And then he adds to the masters: "And you, masters, do the same thing to them, forbearing threatenings, knowing that the Lord both of them and you is in Heaven, and there is no respect of persons with Him" (Eph. vi., 5-9). There were things in which a slave need not obey; there was a higher Master whom both slave and master must obey. This teaching was completely at variance with the prevailing notions, and as Christians spread and multiplied, the healing words and the healing doctrines gradually began to impart new life.

To the Christian slave they came as a revelation and a resuscitation. He felt himself to be no longer a mere beast of burden, no longer a mere chattel and the property of his master; he had a soul as precious as that of his master, he had a future perhaps more glorious than awaited his master; there was hope, there was life, there was buoyancy. He had but to bear with the toil for a few years, and then would come rest and freedom for ever. As a Christian master learned the Christian faith and Christian principles, he learned that caprice must yield to reason; he could not look upon his slave as he did in his heathen days, for he saw one who had been bought with the Blood of Christ and was destined for Heaven, one who was a brother and whom he had to love; and he could not continue the same harshness and rigour. As Christians increased, the pagans grew familiar with their teaching and principles; they were astonished, they were interested, they discussed the Christian view of a slave, and thus during the two hundred and fifty years before the triumph of Christianity the leaven was working through the whole mass of society, preparing it for nobler and higher ideals, and softening harsh usage.

The Church accompanied her preaching and teaching by practically treating the slave not only as a man, but as a brother. St. Paul, in his Epistle to Philemon, intercedes for a fugitive slave, named Onesimus, whom he sends back, and his words breathe the Christian feeling towards slaves: "I beseech thee for my son, Onesimus. Receive him as my own bowels, no more as a slave, but as a most dear brother. If he hath wronged thee in anything, or is in thy debt, put that to my account." The despised slave was taken into the Church with the same ceremonies as his master; he received the same Sacraments, the same graces, the same privileges. His marriage was a marriage in the eyes of God, and as sacred as that of a freeman. In place of exclusion from the pagan temples and the stifling of religious feeling, he found himself in company with his master at the sacred mysteries; nay, his master, if only a catechumen, withdrew, while the slave remained. They knelt together before the Holy of Holies, they gave

each other the kiss of peace before the Communion, and all, bond and free, partook of the Body of our Blessed Lord at the same altar. The slave shed his blood for the faith, was venerated by the Church as a martyr; and Christians assembled to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries over the tomb of a slave. Furthermore, slaves were admitted to the priesthood, they received their freedom, ministered at the altar, and gave the Sacraments to bond and free. Instances are recorded of their elevation to the episcopate to rule the flock; and in the year 221 one who had been a fugitive slave was raised to the Chair of Peter, was made Vicar of Christ, and placed over the Church of God. Try to realize the effect of this public treatment of the slave, this open recognition of equality, and reception into brotherhood. The slave's life was no longer a blank, a degradation; he was no longer an outcast and an alien; he looked upwards to one who was not only a higher Master but a Father, and he looked around at his brothers of the family of Christ. "There is neither bond nor free, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Thus the Church prepared the heart of the slave for freedom; she gave him self-respect and self-responsibility, she gave him self-control by religious restraints and by training him in Christian virtues, at the same time that she raised his hopes, strengthened his moral tone, and made him ready to take his place amongst free men.

Obviously this was a work of time. The Church was struggling in persecution, working in secrecy and poverty, but steadily advancing in every class of society, and with the steady advance came amelioration to the lot of the slave. The conversion of every slave lightened his toil by infusing spirit into his soul; the conversion of every freeman softened the lot of every slave with whom he came in contact. Having thus prepared the way, the Church set herself to the work of emancipation of the down-trodden race. She at once declared the manumission of a slave to be a good work; the pagan state still discouraged it. Pope Clement as early as the first century speaks of persons going into slavery to redeem others, and St. Ignatius the Martyr exhorts slaves "to be

patient, and not to desire to be set free at the expense of the community." Mark the significance of the collections amongst the Christian congregations to obtain freedom for slaves. The Church exhorted her converts not only to treat their slaves justly, but to give them freedom, although even this had to be tempered by prudence, for the times made the condition of unprotected freemen precarious.

After two hundred and fifty years of expansion, education, and preparation of the minds of the people, the opportunity of the Church came at the conversion of Constantine. She emerged from the catacombs and hiding places to take part in the government of the empire. She did not declare slavery to be a crime or inhuman, for it still entered into the structure of the law, civil customs, and the arrangements of the household. At her suggestion the Christian emperors mitigated the harsh dominion, took away from the masters the power of life and death, gave the slave redress at law, and legalized his marriage. The Church dignified the process of manumission by obtaining that it should take place in the Church before the altar. This gave facility and sacredness to the act, and the Church assumed the protection of the men thus freed, to shield them against further molestation. Council after Council in different countries made provision in favour of slaves. The churches were declared to be places of refuge for ill-treated slaves, securing thereby a fair investigation of their grievances. If a slave became a monk or was made a cleric, he became free. The slaves of the Church could not pass to other masters but only to freedom, and the treatment of these slaves was regulated by the Canons. This treatment served as a model, and the slave of the Church was not anxious for freedom, which came in due course. Jews were forbidden to buy Christian slaves, were restricted in the use of them, and finally were definitely prohibited from holding them. The Church strongly urged individuals to free their slaves as a work of piety for the good of their souls. Many by will gave them freedom or made them over to the Church as a stepping-

stone to liberty. The Consul Gallicanus during his life gave freedom in one day to 5,000 slaves, and St. Melania, to 8,000. The number of slaves diminished every year, and two hundred years after Constantine, the energy and persistence of the Church had nearly eradicted the social evil. This was brought about not so much by the change of the public laws of the State—Justinian, indeed, proclaimed that slavery was against natural right—as by the formation of public opinion and the growth of common action that rendered the laws useless, and they fell into disuetude.

After the downfall of the Empire and the establishment of fresh nations on its ruins, the Church brought them the light of Faith, and at the same time extinguished slavery from their midst by a process similar to that adopted under the empire. During this period Mahometanism spread over the eastern portion of the empire and slavery assumed a new phase amongst them. They captured Christians by war, piracy, or kidnapping, and subjected them to a slave's lot and a slave's work. The Mussulmen in Asia and North Africa and the Moors in Spain made it a pleasure and a duty to enslave the dogs of Christians, as they called them. The Church raised her voice and aroused the sympathy of Christian peoples; she moved princes and nobles to contribute large sums to liberate these captives; she poured out her own funds, and even sanctioned the melting of church plate for this purpose. Then arose two of those religious Orders that the Church alone can produce. The Trinitarians and the Order of Mercy took the ordinary vows of religion in order to dedicate their lives to the redemption of these captive slaves, adding a fourth vow to take the place of a slave in default of other means of ransom. They went from town to town and begged from door to door with a story that melted the hearts of the people. With funds thus gathered they sent brethren amongst the infidels to purchase Christian slaves and bring them back rejoicing. This heroic work was not confined to the enthusiasm of a few, for the Trinitarians had two hundred and fifty houses, and their records declare that from 1198 to 1787 they

ransomed no less than 900,000 Christian slaves, and the Order of Mercy, from 1218 to 1632, ransomed 490,706. Independently of the hundreds of thousands rescued by other means, the efforts of these two Orders alone are a noble record of the work of the Church for the slaves. Nor was their fourth vow a vain profession, for hundreds took the place of the captives, did a slave's work, and died a slave's death. Numbers were tortured and martyred to free the slave.

Wherever slavery appeared there was the Church to bring rescue or to lessen hardships. In the conquests by Spain and Portugal in South America, Pope and Bishop did their utmost to save the natives from slavery, and the rulers of Spain issued edicts which somewhat restrained the greed of the invaders. The Vicars of Christ have again and again proclaimed to the world the iniquity of slavery, amongst them Pius II. in 1482, Paul III. in 1537, Urban VIII. in 1639, Benedict XIV. in 1741, Gregory XVI. in 1839. In our own day we have the noble letter of Leo XIII. to the Bishops of Brazil in 1888, and the assistance granted to Cardinal Lavigerie in dealing with the African slave trade. If slavery has lingered here and there in countries professedly Catholic, the Church has not failed in exhortation, reproof, and persistent action—a marked contrast to the comparatively recent awakening of the conscience of Christian sects to the iniquity of traffic in human flesh and blood.

Thus the Church has struggled from the beginning for the welfare of the slave. The abolition of slavery in the Roman Empire was a stupendous work, a noble work, and a work entirely her own. No other agency could cope with the monstrous evil. From pagan emperors and governments she had no help, from heathen philosophers no encouragement. If she had not accomplished the change before the irruption of the barbarians, the catastrophe of setting loose those millions of slaves would have been overwhelming. Some writers try to assign the abolition to a process of evolution and a general softening of the cruelty of the times, but they omit to attribute the change of feeling to the preaching, the teaching and the

example of the Church. In looking back at the abolition of slavery we are apt to dwell on the human side, the relief of suffering and the raising of man from degradation, and to overlook the beneficent influence on labour and the labourer. The condition of the labourer was then at its lowest ebb. He had no home, no family that he could call his own, no wage; he trembled under the lash, the prison, or death at the caprice of his master; he was fed as his master pleased, he had no option in work either in kind or amount; he had no redress nor appeal; he could be hired out or sold, or exiled from one country to another; he had no political rights, no one to speak for him, no one to care for him. The Catholic Church, and the Church alone, came to his rescue. She gave him control over his work, she gave him a wage, she gave him a home, she gave him his wife, she gave him his children with their work and wage, she gave him security of retaining the fruits of his labour, she gave him a prospect of happiness and content. Surely the Church has earned the eternal gratitude of labour for her noble and devoted efforts to root out the curse of slave labour.

II. The Church and the Serf.

Wherever power is placed in human hands and wielded by human motives there will be oppression. The human heart is weak and swayed by passion, and unless kept in check by higher motives will use authority over others selfishly, if not harshly. Consequently, in all ages and countries, a class of men, often a large class, is subject to tyranny and oppression. This oppression, whether severe or light, arises, and always will arise, from the weakness of man's character. Hence to expect to abolish all cruelty and oppression would be illusory and impossible, because it involves the training of the heart so that it shall not be influenced by passion. The Church, if rightly understood, is the natural refuge and protector of the oppressed. Our Divine Lord has entrusted to her not only the instruction of the mind in eternal truths, but also the guidance of the heart in what is right and wrong. Consequently in evils arising from the depravity of the heart she is the appointed appeal for a remedy. In proclaiming the equality of all in the sight of God, and in declaring the brotherhood of all in Christ, the Church pointed out the remedy for the curse of slavery; and when she had so far prevailed as to stamp it out in Europe, the freed men were relieved from the degradation of personal dominion and placed in a position of self-dependence, but they had not liberty as we understand the term. The freedom took them from under the dominion and caprice of a master, and attached them to the soil with the obligation of rendering certain fixed services. This condition is called serfdom. An immense improvement on the state of slavery, it still left the labourer in a constrained position, and in estimating the

work of the Church in alleviating the hardships of the serfs, their origin and condition must be ascertained.

The increase of the Roman conquests placed large estates in different countries under the control of wealthy Romans. The cultivation of these distant estates in Gaul, Asia Minor, Africa, &c., became difficult with ordinary slave labour. Consequently parcels of land were assigned to a class of men who were not actually slaves, who had been debtors, fugitives, or small proprietors in difficulties. These were called *coloni*. They held the allotment or farm for life on payment of a proportion of the produce and a fixed number of day's labour on the part of the estate worked by slaves. They could not leave the estate or marry out of it, and the children belonged to the domain. The rent or labour dues could not be increased, the owner could inflict moderate chastisement, and could chain them in an attempt to escape. The two classes of men, coloni and rustic slaves, working on the same estate led to confusion, and in pagan times custom tended to degrade the coloni into slaves. When the Church secured general emancipation for the slaves, the tendency changed, and slaves became coloni. In course of time almost all the estate was worked by them. The irruption of the barbarians destroyed the Roman Empire with its institutions, and the estates of the Roman nobles disappeared with the rest. The disturbed state of Europe for the succeeding 200 years prevented any permanent arrangement for the land. At the settlement under Charlemagne he adopted the system of the Roman coloni for the cultivation of the soil. He retained fiscal rights over the whole land, allotted to his princes and nobles large tracts in freehold, which were sub-divided into estates held in tenancy for life with reversion to the freeholders at death. This reversion made the freeholder on the alert to take care that the estate was not depreciated, that labour was not taken off it, and hence the cultivators or serfs became attached to the land. In the lawlessness of the times the tenants for life gradually asserted their independence, erected castles, became real proprietors, transmitted their holdings to their children, and only tendered military

homage to their liege lord. Thus arose the feudal system which obtained with various modifications throughout Europe. Each grade owed service to the higher one by reason of the land, and the lowest was the labourer who belonged to the land, of which he held a portion on condition of certain fixed labour for the lord.

The condition of the serf, or villein as he was called, varied according to the amount of service and the harshness of its exaction. The lord retained a part of the domain under his own cultivation, and the remainder was partly let to freemen and partly entrusted in allotments to serfs. In England a strip of half an acre was the unit, and the serf held a greater or lesser number. He had a house, with sheds for his pigs and cattle. It was a home; he could marry at his own choice within the domain, and the children were not separated from him, but they belonged to the land. The size of the holding determined the number of days on which he worked on the lord's farm without wage. A serf who held thirty acres owed him about 125 days, and on these he went with his implements, horses, or oxen to the steward, who instructed him to work at the hay, corn, vineyard, etc. His wife looked to the poultry and eggs. For the rest of the year he could till his own holding or work on hire for payment. The law gave him no redress against his master, but a body of custom grew up which protected him in the kind and amount of service. He had a church and a priest in the village, and a school for his children if he lived near a monastery. In spite of giving half his labour without wage, the condition of a serf under a generous and humane lord would not be intolerable; it was a great advance in comfort on the state of slavery, yet an exacting lord had much scope for oppression and tyranny, for the serf had no remedy. In addition to the labour dues, the lord often imposed taxes on their serfs on various pretexts; tolls were exacted for roads, fairs, and markets, the peasant was bound to have his corn ground at the lord's mill, his grapes crushed at the lord's wine press, his bread baked in the lord's oven; all, of course, for a charge. The lord had exclusive right of sport, and fines and other exactions

were inflicted. In lawless times the serf enjoyed the protection of his lord, but in peaceful days the exactions became the more galling because the peasant received no return for his payment or services. In England, at the time of the Domesday Book, the serfs, including villeins and cottiers, comprised two-thirds of the population.

The system of serfdom prevailed throughout Europe after the abolition of slavery in the fifth and sixth centuries, and continued in some countries until the present century. The Church, having delivered the slave from the personal dominion of his master and so far established him in comparative freedom, extended her protection to the new condition of labour, and used her influence to soften its hardships. The first step was to assert the dignity of labour. At the rise of Christianity, to work with the hands was considered to be vile and base. It was relegated to slaves, and deemed to be unworthy of free men. Slaves were classed with animals as an inferior race, and manual labour, whether agricultural, mechanical, or domestic, was fit only for slaves. We consider it degrading for a man to take the place of a beast of burden, to be harnessed to a cart, or to be yoked to a plough. Similarly the ancients considered it to be degrading for a man to take the place of a slave by doing any manual labour. Hundreds of thousands of free men in Rome would starve rather than work, and they were fed at the expense of the State. The philosophers and celebrated writers speak of labour with disdain and treat it as a degradation. This contempt for labour prevailed not only among the Romans, but through all countries East and West.

It is very striking in the midst of this universal contempt for labour, that our Blessed Lord should voluntarily undertake the condition of a labourer, should be known as the son of a carpenter, and should work with his hands for the support of His Blessed Mother. It is significant that those whom He selected to found the Church should be workmen, fishermen, and tent-makers. The Church at the very outset proclaimed the dignity of labour. The voices that confounded the philosophy of the day with

celestial wisdom, that inculcated the doctrine of fraternal charity, came from bodies inured to toil with hands hardened by the despised work. "We labour working with our hands," says St. Paul (1 Cor. iv. 22), and "If any man will not work, neither let him eat" (2 Tim. iii. 10). He associated with workmen. "Because he was of the same trade he remained with them and wrought (now they were tent-makers by trade)" (Acts xviii. 3). The pagans looked upon the Christians with scorn because they worked; it was opposed to all their notions of dignity and respect, and they extended the aversion that they felt for work to the advocates of the new theory that exalted labour. As the Church spread and increased so the work of labour was appreciated. St. Augustine speaks of societies of laymen in Rome and Milan presided over by a priest, and comprising men and women of every class, who worked with their hands for the Church and the poor. Priests worked in the intervals of their ministry. St. Hilary of Arles and his clergy worked all their lives at a trade for the benefit of the poor of the diocese. Thus the Church, while she was gradually humanizing the slave and treating him as a brother, was at the same time preparing the way for his self-respect when he should be able to work for himself.

During the period when the slave was passing from the dominion of his master and from labour at his pleasure and caprice, to be attached to the land as a serf with the advantage of labouring for himself, simultaneously in the Church arose a power that pre-eminently conduced to assert the dignity of labour. That power was the monk. Amongst the blessings which monastic institutions have conferred upon society few can compare with their rehabilitation of labour. Writers agree in praising the results of their work in agriculture, learning, and civilization, but the value and nobility that they conferred on labour itself has been much overlooked from disregard of the contempt into which it had fallen. In the East the deserts of Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine were peopled with monks. Men in every position in life fled from the corruption of ancient society to seek in the desert peace, innocence, and

the safety of their souls. Their numbers appear to us to be almost incredible. St. Jerome states that 50,000 were present at the annual congregation of the monks under the rule of St. Pacomius; the mountain of Nitria contained 5,000; at what is now Suez Abbot Sampson governed 10,000; and a traveller mentions that at a town on the Nile he found 10,000 monks and 20,000 virgins consecrated to God. What was the occupation of these hosts of monks? Meditation, prayer, and, prominently, work. They worked for their support, they worked for the poor, they worked to give hospitality. They hired themselves out to gather in the harvest. All their rules prescribe manual labour. St. Anthony tells his monks to be solicitous about three things, manual labour, meditation on the Psalms, and prayer. "Compel thyself," he says, "to work with thy hands, and the fear of the Lord shall be in thee." St. Macarius appointed seven hours manual labour every day, and without murmur at any work enjoined. St. Pacomius ordered his monks not to rest at their labour without permission, even in the burning sun. St. Basil signified to his monks that if fasting hindered their work they had better eat, for they were the workmen of Christ. Consider that these men were senators, nobles, lawyers, and representatives of every class and had been nurtured in the habitual contempt for labour, and we may realise what a noble incentive it became to resuscitate the dignity of labour.

As in the East, so was it in the West. Cassian separated his monks into different houses according to the trade at which they worked. St. Martin prescribed manual labour at Poictiers and Marmoutiers. St. Columbanus enjoined prayer and work alternately. St. Benedict, whose rule gradually assimilated other monastic rules in the West, gives the key note to the ennobling of labour. Work is the leading idea for soul and body. For the soul, he says that he is founding a "schola servitii," a school of servitude or work, he enumerates seventy-two implements of good works, calls the divine office the work of God, the cloisters of the monastery are the workshops wherein the monks work at these things day and night, and the Lord will pay the wage that He has promised. For the body he

prescribes manual labour for six or seven hours a day, he modifies the religious habit to allow for work, and if necessity or poverty should make the hours for labour encroach on the two hours assigned for reading, the monks are not to be distressed, for then are they truly monks if they live by the labour of their hands like our fathers and the apostles. The weak and delicate are not to be exempted from work, but are to be assigned suitable occupation. This was the spirit that led to the success of the Benedictine monks as they spread over Europe. Great monasteries arose in every country, whose cloisters were spiritual workshops for the sanctification of souls, and within whose boundaries every kind of labour of the hand or body was gathered together, ennobled, sanctified. The face of the land changed under the labours of the monks, forests were cleared, marshes drained, waste lands reclaimed, and the barren wilderness blossomed. Their influence over the semi-civilized races around them must have been irresistible. Here were men who worked as well as talked, who spoke to them of God and were not ashamed to till God's earth, who spoke to them of brotherhood and equality and practised them before their eyes; their simple hearts would warm with fellow-feeling towards the toiling monks, and no wonder that their minds readily opened to the truths of faith.

While the labour of the monks was transforming barren wastes into fertile tracts, and monasteries were multiplying, serfdom with its feudal services was being established after the irruption of the barbarians. If the serf in his constant toil thought that his lot was hard, that the exactions were galling, and that his work was despised, he could not have had a more forcible incentive to content and encouragement than the spectacle of the labour of the monks. He saw knights, nobles, princes and learned men relinquish a life of affluence and comfort to associate in brotherhood with men of no better condition than himself, and daily go through the very same work that burdened him. What they undertook voluntarily could not be contemptible in him. The very fact of monastic labour imparted a dignity and a worth to work that must have

brought comfort and confidence to the serf. His condition was not intolerable under a kind and considerate lord. The monasteries were extensively endowed with lands by the generosity of founders and the donations of benefactors, and with these domains passed the serfs attached to them, who henceforth owed their services to the monasteries. The lot of the monastic serfs would be very much softened. Can we imagine that the monks who were doing the same work, who knew the burden and the heat of the day, who had undertaken work for work's sake, could be harsh with those who, after all, were their fellow-labourers? Charity to the poor and hospitality to guests were prominent monastic virtues, and we cannot suppose that the monks would be less generous or less considerate to those with whom they were in constant contact, and who worked with them almost shoulder to shoulder. This brotherhood in work, this absence of lordly assumption, and similarity in diet and vesture, would smooth over the asperities in the life of the serfs on the monastic domains. The example would tend to moderate the harshness or exactions on the estates of the neighbouring barons. Thus the Church furnished in the monks a most powerful influence in mitigating the rigours of serfdom by raising the esteem for labour, by softening its hardships, and by presenting a model for its treatment.

In the midst of fighting knights and barons and the raids, ravages, and petty incursions of armed men, agriculture and the poor serfs would fare badly. The monastic serfs were protected by the censures of the Church. In order to shield the serfs in other domains, the Church obtained the observance of the "Truce of God," by which fighting was prohibited from Wednesday evening until Monday morning. To compel the barons to observe it, the village communities were organized, and knights who infringed the Truce of God met with a sturdy resistance from them, which resistance was only possible by the support of the Church and its censures. In peaceful times the priest was the natural mediator between the proprietor and his serfs, and his influence with Catholic landowners would be considerable in the ages of faith. The enact-

ments of the Church in her Synods and Councils show her anxiety to protect the serf: decree after decree is made in every country to check the combative habits of the barons, and she did not hesitate to use her spiritual weapons against oppression and tyranny. Moreover, the Church during that period directed the channels of charity and almsgiving, and the serfs if in poverty or distress would naturally participate in the benevolence of the time.

Not only did the Church thus befriend the serf in his hardships, she also strenuously exerted herself to obtain his manumission. Writers in different countries give testimony to her efforts on behalf of the freedom of the serf. In England Sir Thomas Smith, a Protestant Councillor of Queen Elizabeth, thus speaks of the abolition of serfdom in England.—"Since our realme hath received the Christian religion, which makes us all in Christ brethren, and in respect of God and Christ *conservos*, men began to have conscience to hold in captivitie and such extreame bondage, him whom they must acknowledge to bee their brother, and as wee used to term him a Christian. Upon this scruple, in continuance of time, and by long succession, the holy fathers, monks, and friers, in their confession, and especially in their extreame and deadly sicknesses, burdened the consciences of them whom they had under their hands: so that temporale men by little and little, by reason of that terror in their conscience, were glad to manumitte all their villeins" (*Commonwealth of England*, book iii. c. x.). He further adds that the Church, although urging the freedom of other serfs, retained her own, which would be accounted for by the better condition of the monastic serfs. We read of frequent manumission of serfs; St. Benedict Anian, in accepting donations of land for his monasteries, at once enfranchised the serfs who cultivated it. The manumission was not always accepted with eagerness, for the position of the rural freemen was sometimes precarious, if he could not retain his holding, or if labour were not in demand, and he could not adopt a trade in a town. Mr. Seebohm mentions that at times freemen willingly placed themselves under the serfdom of the Church (*English Village*

Communities, p. 128). However, the Church helped the serf to obtain his freedom, the act of manumission took place in the church, and extant documents contain frequent mention of the motive—"for the love of God," "for the good of my soul."

Besides the recorded action of the Church, her unobtrusive influence in the village communities is difficult to estimate. Many of the village churches remain as witnesses of the care of the Church for sparse populations. In the valleys of the Tyrol a somewhat similar condition of peasant life still obtains. The Church stands up prominent amidst châlets and cottages clustered around it, while other dwellings are perched here and there on the mountain side. In the early morning the villagers troop into the church to hear Holy Mass before their daily toil, they stay their work to pray at the sound of the Angelus bell, and in the evening many spend a few moments in the church to pay homage to our Blessed Lord before the night's rest. On Sundays and festivals work ceases, and they come in their gayest attire to assist at the public Mass, or to take part in the procession. The priest lives in the midst of them, almost one of themselves, yet treated with touching respect and reverence. They come to him in their troubles, they lean on his advice, and they look confidently for his sympathy or assistance. He knows them all; their interests are his interests, their sorrows are his sorrows. These remote valleys of the Tyrol have been little affected by the activity of modern life, and are a survival of Catholic times in the Middle Ages. From the unaffected content of the Tyrolese we can understand how the toil of the serfs must have been tempered and sweetened by their religion. If, as records tend to show, religion were the leading idea of life, if the priest were their father and counsellor, if they were as one family, then the influence of the Church must have been paramount with them. There could be no doubt which side the priest would take in a difference with their lord. He would, like St. Paul, counsel submission and obedience, but he would stand up valiantly before the lord in defence of labour with the earnestness and per-

tinacity of a father pleading for his children, and perhaps, failing other means, would appeal for them to the gentler sympathies of the lady.

Thus has the Church fulfilled her office to the serf as the protector of labour. She did not obtain the abolition of serfdom as she procured the abolition of slavery, but she prepared the way for the action of other causes. For a thousand years she constantly and persistently advocated the cause of the agricultural labourer. She removed the stigma and contempt attached to labour; she displayed to the world a multitude who voluntarily worked for work's sake and for God's sake; she mitigated the hardships of the tiller of the soil; by decree and censure she restrained tyranny and oppression; she set an example how the labourer should be treated, she softened and sweetened his lot by the solace of religion, and in numberless instances she obtained his freedom from feudal service.

III. The Church and the Crafts.

The Catholic Church is really catholic, not only in extending over the whole world, but also in embracing the interests of every class. Her mission communicates the message of God's mercy to all nations, and to every individual of the same nation. Rich and poor, peer and convict, philosopher and labourer, all come within the scope of her services and sympathy, and she adapts her ministrations to the surroundings and exigencies of each. When she meets with distress or oppression the example and instructions of her Divine Master prompt her to apply relief, and she adjusts her ministrations to the circumstances or needs. She would not be the Christian Church, the Church of Christ, if she did not spontaneously lean to protect the weak against the strong, the helpless against the powerful, to pour out her sympathies on behalf of the toil-worn and weary. She invites their confidence in the words of her Master: "Come to Me all you that labour, and are heavily laden, and I will refresh you" (Matt. xi. 29). In dealing with slave labour she proclaimed its injustice, and was satisfied with nothing short of its abolition. In dealing with the serf, who encountered less oppression and misery, she brought help and encouragement by associating with him in labour, and by gradually softening the incidents of his position. In dealing with the mechanic and artizan, or the craftsmen as they were termed in the Middle Ages, when tyranny and oppression had almost ceased, she again adapts herself to supply what was needed for his well-being and content.

The settlement of the nations on the ruins of the Roman Empire placed all lands under the feudal system of tenure

for fixed services. This originally included the towns where trades or crafts had congregated. The lords quickly perceived the advantage of these crafts, and in place of bodily service on the estate, demanded a proportion of the product of the craft. When trade flourished and townsmen showed signs of increasing substance, the lords schemed to appropriate the profits, and multiplied taxes and exactions under various pretexts. These excessive burdens goaded the craftsmen to resistance. They soon found that the refusal of an individual to comply with the requirements ended in his persecution and ultimate collapse. Dwelling in close proximity and bound by common interests, the townsmen took heart and formed themselves into a general association or gild, for a combined effort against the impositions of the lord: they elected a spokesman and appointed delegates to accompany him. If a craftsmen were treated unjustly, or a fresh exaction were published, the lord found that he had to deal with the whole town united in common action. This led to a series of conferences between the spokesman of the town and the steward of the lord, in which the relations between the lord and the town were regulated, usually on a system of compromise. This town gild, comprising all the trades and citizens, formed the nucleus of the municipal corporation. As the towns grew prosperous from successful trade, and the lords grew needy from war and extravagance, the townsmen negotiated for a charter, by which in consideration of a lump sum, or a fixed annual payment, they became altogether free from the exactions and interference of the lords, and took the management of their affairs into their own hands.

During this process of the establishment of a town the condition of labour was very different from that of the present time. Dismiss from the mind railways, coaches, palatial shops, large factories, machinery, steam power, companies, masses of workmen, for all these had no existence; and picture a town with two to fifty thousand people, with narrow crooked streets of small houses with upper gables protruding, with no gas or lighting at night, with scarcely a vehicle, and the goods conveyed on men's

shoulders or in panniers across the back of a horse. All the work was done in these small houses, either in premises at the back or in an upper room, while the wares were exposed in the front room below with a larger window facing the street. Here weavers, curriers, tailors, drapers, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, armourers, and other artificers worked at their crafts. The goods were made by hand with simple implements, sufficient for the supply of the shop without any large store or assortment. Exports were trifling, and communication between towns was difficult; so that purchasers were confined to the townsmen themselves, and the neighbouring country folk who came to the market or fair. Each master kept one or sometimes two apprentices, who dwelt in the house, and these with the members of the family produced sufficient articles for a very limited business in the modern sense. At the expiration of his term an apprentice either set up for himself, or worked as a journeyman for some master who required an extra hand. A homeliness and a familiarity characterized the whole system of the crafts, very unlike the mechanic of to-day. Every one in the town knew his neighbours and their capacities, an individuality stamped each man's work, which excited self-respect and emulation in producing good work. Such was the condition of labour with which the Church had to deal in the crafts. She found little tyranny or oppression, and no great wrongs to redress, and she set herself to spiritualize the union in the trades, to foster good feeling amongst the workers, to enlist sympathy and charity for one another, and to sustain comparative happiness and content. This was effected mainly by means of gilds.

These gilds formed a prominent feature in town life from early times. Before the organization of the trades and the liberation of the rising town from the yoke of the feudal lords, religious gilds appear throughout Europe. Their nature, ordinances, and object testify that they were the work of the Church, and her way of dealing with the larger populations. Hincmar states that they were formed for every exercise of religion, including mutual help and works of charity. Each gild had a special religious purpose;

but a similarity in constitution that runs through the whole of them, facilitates a fair estimate of their general character The gild was placed under the patronage of a saint, whose festival became its gala day; candles were kept burning before his statue, and masses were offered in his honour. Once, and sometimes four times a year, every brother and sister, clad in the gild livery and with lighted taper in the hand, was bound to assemble in the church on the appointed day to assist at mass, after which they met to discuss the affairs of the gild, and adjourned to feast together "for the nourishing of brotherly love." At the death of a brother all the members attended the obsequies; a deputation carried the body to the church, where it remained surrounded by lights while the dirge was recited or chanted. During the night brothers watched and prayed by the body, and in the morning all were present at the mass for the departed soul, and followed the body to the grave; doles were distributed to the poor "for the soul's sake of the dead." The funeral was entirely at the expense of the gild. If the resources permitted, the gild supported a chaplain of its own. Every kind of distress amongst the brethren met with sympathy and assistance from the gild: sickness, poverty, old age, infirmity, losses, misfortune, and even imprisonment. These were alleviated in various ways by visits, weekly payments, gifts of clothing, loans according to the means at disposal. A pleasing feature in this exercise of charity was that the Church encouraged the personal ministering of the alms. The case was brought before the gild, the brothers visited, the brothers themselves gave the relief, thus creating a personal interest and a personal sympathy for distress, that knitted the whole gild together in brotherly love. The alms were distributed not according to the money stake in the gild, but adjusted to the exigency and need. Besides this mutual help common to all gilds, some undertook other works of charity, assistance to a brother leaving for a pilgrimage, distributions to the poor who did not belong to the gild, the repair of churches, the establishment of free schools. The gilds included all classes of society, rich and poor, men and women, priests and laymen, who were thus brought

together in brotherhood. The hold that they had on town life may be estimated from their numbers: Norwich had 12, Lynn, 12; Lubeck, 70; Cologne, 80; and Hamburg more than 100.

This organization of the townspeople speaks for itself: the influence of the Church is conspicuous. Not many towns in those days contained more than 10,000 inhabitants, and the effect of several of these religious gilds on the comparatively small number of people cannot be mistaken. They linked all classes together in homely familiarity by bonds of religion, charity, social intercourse, and amusement. The Church did not assume the complete government and control of the gilds, as obviously she might have done in the ages of faith; but she wisely guided and directed them so that the townsmen trained themselves in the exercise of religion and charity. Entrance into a gild was voluntary; admission depended on election; the ordinances were carried by popular vote; the rules enforced by the brethren themselves; assistance or alms was determined by the council or general meeting, and administered by the brothers personally. Yet the influence of the Church is clearly indicated by the distinctly religious spirit pervading the whole of their proceedings. The masses, the chaplain, the special altar, or chapel, or statue of a saint, the blessed candles, the pilgrimages, the funeral service were acts of religion under the control of the Church. The exercises of charity were attributed to religious motives, "for the love of God and His Blessed Mother;" and even the amusements were mixed up with religion. The gild feast was always preceded by corporate attendance at mass, the processions were brightened by banners of the saints, and the pageants and plays presented by many gilds took a religious turn. Thus the Church entered into the daily life of the people, and directed it into religious channels. Had a fire brigade started in those days it would have taken the form of a gild, with a patron saint and an appointed festival day; the fire engine would have been solemnly blessed, perhaps candles burned at the statue while it was in operation, and assistance given not only to injured fire brothers, but also to the victims of the conflagration.

These religious gilds comprised the craftsmen, for all the people of the town were craftsmen in some form. There were no suburban villas or retired tradesmen, fortunes were modest, and those who had means lived in the midst of the work. After the town had secured its freedom from the exactions of the lord, and when the spokesman and delegates of the townsmen had developed into a mayor and aldermen, and the townsmen had become burghers, the municipality began to manage its own affairs. The regulation of the crafts became most important to the citizens in order to restrain high prices, to secure honest work, to make provision for markets, and for the supply for the benefit of the public. Individual crafts soon perceived their interests to be threatened by the ordinances of the corporation; and in the same way that the whole town organized itself against the exactions of the lord, so now each craft formed itself into a separate gild to show a united front in the interest of the craft against the enactments of the town authorities. They instinctively took the constitution of the existing religious gilds as a model, adopted many of their observances—*e g.*, patron saint, masses, altar, chaplain, blessed candles, funerals, mutual help, and added to them ordinances suitable to their trade. Thus religion formed an integral part of the craft gilds from their commencement. The Church had already provided the system and put it in operation, and as her influence was paramount in the religious gilds, so is it clearly indicated in the craft gilds. So evident is this that Dr. Brentano says that, reading their statutes, one might fancy sometimes that the old craftsmen cared only for the well-being of their souls. Many instances are recorded of curious customs showing the thorough religious spirit that prevailed in the craft gilds. In France some gilds made the annual change of officials during the singing of the *Magnificat* at vespers; in the middle of the verse, "He hath set down the mighty from their seat," the organ and the singing ceased while the past warden left his place and delivered up the insignia of office. At the conclusion of the verse, "He hath exalted the humble," the new warden was conducted to his seat and invested with the signs of office.

The pastrycooks of Coutances had a mass offered up at the four Ember Days in expiation for the sins of gluttony, of which they may have been the occasion. The London saddlers were admitted to communication of masses, prayers, and good works with the neighbouring Canons of St. Martin-le-Grand.

Although the condition of labour was so different to that of the present day, the ordinances of the craft Gilds regulated for many of the grievances of the modern workman. A master usually worked with his journeymen and apprentices, and the amount of production was restricted by handwork and limited demand; hence the small number in any one workshop tended to a homeliness and familiarity that savoured of family life. It made quarrels and harsh treatment almost unknown, and any little difference was adjusted by the forbearance inculcated by the Church. Every one who practised a craft was compelled to join its gild or leave the town, and thus the gild retained control over its trade. Every ordinance was passed by the majority of votes at the general meeting of all the members, masters, and journeymen; in the later times wealthy masters obtained control of the gild. This union of masters and workmen in the same gild gave it a character distinct from any combination of modern times; indeed, during the greater part of the Middle Ages there was no working-class with interests separate from the masters. The trade ordinances were partly imposed by the municipal authorities to protect the public, partly to secure uniformity in the conduct of the trade, and partly to defend the craft against interference from externs. There were struggles and jealousies between different crafts, there was opposition to the enactments of the town council, there were strong measures against interloping foreigners, but there is no evidence of disputes between masters and workmen in the same trade before the middle of the 14th century. After that date the influx of villeins into the town increased the number of workmen, and gave rise to disputes which were settled by the authorities of the craft. The ordinances affecting the actual labour seem to have been dictated by common sense, and were arranged amicably

without heat or disturbance. The religious character of the gilds and the prominence given to mutual help, charity, and social intercourse, seem to have extended the same spirit to the trade regulations. They were brethren and treated one another as brothers.

The Church protected the workman from excessive labour by her festivals, which gave the needful rest and recreation. On Saturdays and eves of festivals work ceased at midday, which allowed time for fulfilling religious obligations and for family intercourse and parental duties. This rest probably made the work of better quality, and it is pleasing to see the frequency of the terms "good and loyal work" in the ordinances, to secure which many gilds prohibited work by candle-light, and appointed inspectors, or searchers as they were called, to examine implements and and material, weights and measures. The system of mutual help and intercourse adopted from the religious gilds contributed most to the comfort and content of the poorer workmen. When the whole craft, master, journeyman, and apprentice—the number could not be large—had common interests and met frequently for business, at Church, in processions, and at gild feasts, all were well known to each other. The familiarity would break down hauteur and distance, and lead to intimacy. Consequently when a workman was conscious of honesty, loyalty, and good conduct, cherished as part of the good name of the gild, the prospect of distress or destitution did not trouble him. He could look forward to a comfortable and honoured old age; if his own savings or his family could not support him, he had a larger family in the brethren of the gild, who would furnish comforts for his declining years, and cheer him by visits and talk of the past. Accident or misfortune at once aroused the sympathy of those who worked and felt with him, who could minister to him from their own resources or draw on the stock of the gild. Mishaps in business were met by easy loans from the gild funds. All anxiety about decent burial was removed by the regulations for funerals, and what he valued more, the provision for masses and prayers for the repose of his soul.

Thus the ages of faith, the days when the Church held sway over the people, were the days when the work was favoured and artizans contented. Wages were unchallenged, strikes were needless, excessive toil was restricted, brotherhood was established, homes were decent, accidents were provided for, old age was not feared, few were unemployed, and destitution was rare. The exact share of the Church in attaining this may be undefined, but her handiwork is proclaimed in the ordinances of the gilds. If religion brings solace to life, if it brings peace and content, which few will venture to deny, and if these craft gilds are conspicuous for their religious observances and their religious spirit, then it cannot be unreasonable to attribute the peace and content of the craftsmen to the influence of religion. When the Church had a free hand, and oppression had been mitigated, her attitude to the workman has been to encourage the union of classes, to consolidate good feeling amongst the workers, to bind all together in sympathy and charity, in forbearance and respect, to banish anxiety from poorer brethren, and foster content; and this she has secured by applying the principles of Christianity, which she has been commissioned to teach.

IV. The Church and the Workman.

The condition of labour in Europe to-day has no counterpart in previous centuries. Slavery has been abolished, serfdom has disappeared, the crafts have passed away. In their place a system of commerce, vast enough to be as a fairy dream to the old craftsmen, is wielded by two tyrants and oppressors, Capital and Credit. The personal dominion of the master, the personal service of the serf, the personal relations in the crafts, have yielded to the impersonal domination of invisible capital. The real employers of labour are irresponsible shareholders whose interest is aroused only when their dividends dwindle. The specific connection between master and workman has nearly vanished. The labourer is free from humiliating subjection, he is free from the land, he is free to make his own contracts, but he is not free from hunger. His body is not sold in the market, but the vigour of his muscle and nerve are marketable articles, and its price fluctuates with the value of the fuel for the machine that he drives. His comfort, his energy, his life are pulverised between two millstones of competition, competition amongst workmen and competition amongst companies. Thousands clamour for work and eagerly accept an inadequate pittance to stave off hunger. Manufacturers in an English town will sweat a half-penny from that pittance in order to sell their goods in Burmah a farthing cheaper than their rivals. Machines do the work of muscle, steam takes the place of nerve power, and men are accounted part of the mechanical gear. Year by year communication becomes more rapid, telegraphs and gigantic ships make the whole world within touch, and rivalry grows keen, not merely between

shop and shop, or firm and firm, or town and town, but between nation and nation in a feverish rush to gain an advantage.

This state of things has been developed by capital, by the possibility of gathering together large sums to carry out vast industrial undertakings. The enormous production, the wide distribution, the magnitude of the operations, make an individual workman insignificant, to be used or discarded to suit price or profit. The workman has to struggle against this mighty power, for his work, for his wage, for his food, for his time, for his home, for his family, for healthy workshops and sound machinery, for provision against injury and old age. His misery in the dens of crowded cities can vie with the wretchedness of any age. In the best of factories his present is uncertain and his future unsecured—strike, financial failure, or accident may leave him without bread for weeks. He is only an atom in a mass of commercial intricacy over which he has no control.

The relations between capital and labour and the condition of the workman, are admitted to be deplorable by every man of thought; but the ramifications of the complex system, the dependence of one industry upon another, and of all upon currency and credit, and the exigencies of competition render a solution of the problems extremely difficult. Earnest men of every stamp have suggested remedies. Anarchists would destroy everything in carnage and pillage, and start afresh on the ruins. Socialists of every grade would reconstruct society on a different basis. Statesmen and philosophers have devised schemes for alleviating this or that hardship. The press teems with panaceas and palliatives. Legislatures have enacted measures to restrict the callous exactions of capital. Associations have been organized for relieving the pressure of the incidents of labour. The workmen themselves have combined to defend their natural rights, and at times open war is declared between capital and labour. The general aspect of all these theories and exertions reveals a state of perplexity and impotent effort. The issues are too vast and too far-reaching, the problems are too intricate,

and difficulties vary from year to year. What has the Church done to assuage the lot of the workman? Her mission does not extend to create governments or to constitute society. She is Catholic, and accepts any form of government, empire, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, republic, and she strives to direct all in the principles and dictates of morality. So also she has not been commissioned to constitute society, to direct commerce, to prescribe the conditions of industry, to dictate the method of using the forces of nature; but she accepts existing industrial arrangements, pronounces where they diverge from the principles of justice, exposes and condemns oppression, and extends her sympathy, her charity, and her active influence and exertion to mitigate the hardships of any system.

What, then, has the Church done to mitigate the evils of the present day? First of all the Sovereign Pontiff, the Head of the Church, has proclaimed with no uncertain voice the iniquity of the oppression of capital. In 1877, when Archbishop of Perugia, he issued a pastoral on the evils of the time, in which these words occur: "The modern schools of economics have considered labour as the extreme end of man, whom they account as a machine of more or less value, according as he aids more or less in production. Hence no consideration for the normal man, and the colossal abuse that is made of the poor and lowly by those who seek to keep them in a state of dependence in order to grow rich at their expense. And even in countries which have the reputation of being foremost in civilization, what grave and repeated complaints do we not hear of the excessive hours of labour imposed on those that must earn their bread by the sweat of their brow? And does not the sight of poor children, shut up in factories, where, in the midst of their premature toil, consumption awaits them—does not this sight provoke words of burning indignation from every generous soul, and oblige Governments and Parliaments to make laws that can serve as a check to this inhuman traffic?" These few words indicate how the heart of Cardinal Pecci melted at the prevalent distress of the workman, and this was the

man whom, within twelve months of the utterance, God chose to rule the Church in times of trouble for the workman. In the first year of his Pontificate he issued an encyclical in which he sounds the note of warning against Anarchism, Communism, and Socialism as dangerous to society, rich and poor; and exhorts the Bishops to encourage associations of artificers and workmen under the protection of religion.

He received deputations of workmen with paternal affection, assured them of his interest and sympathy, and of his anxiety to soften the lot of labour. He spoke thus to the French workmen in 1889: "What We ask of you is to cement anew the social edifice by returning to the spirit and doctrines of Christianity, reviving, at least in substance, in their manifold and beneficent attributes and under such forms as the conditions of our times admit of, those corporations of arts and trades, founded upon a Christian ideal and inspired by the maternal solicitude of the Church, which formerly provided for the material and religious needs of the working classes, facilitated their labour, took care of their savings and economies, defended their rights, and supported in due measure their legitimate demands." In 1891 he issued the celebrated encyclical devoted entirely to the labour question, and it commanded the attention and respect of the world. Its contents are well known. He defines the duties and responsibilities of employers and workmen, and his thorough knowledge of the difficulties of the situation and his sympathy for the labourer are conspicuous throughout. Take note of the following: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workman's gilds were destroyed in the last century and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by

rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is, nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." These words were addressed to the whole Church and the whole world, and the speaker, the subject, and the circumstances give them a weight that intensifies their strength. All the utterances of the Vicar of Christ testify to the interest, the vigilance, and the efforts of the Head of the Church on behalf of the workman.

The influence of the action of the Sovereign Pontiff has been evident throughout Europe. By his encouragement of efforts for the benefit of the working classes, by his affectionate reception of deputations of workmen, and by his frequent appeals for Catholic organization he has shewn the strength of his sympathy, and by his masterly treatment of the whole subject in the encyclical, he has proved that he has deeply studied the situation. This study, in the midst of the crowd of ecclesiastical and political matters that commanded his attention, is an earnest of the importance and urgency of the social question. Other Popes have spoken on the subject, and their words have been filtered through pastorals of bishops and addresses of priests before they reached the body of the faithful; but when a Pope speaks to-day, his words go direct to the labouring-man through the medium of the press, pervading everywhere. The voice of Leo XIII. on labour, was heard by every working-man as well as by bishops and priests. It brought encouragement to those who were active in the cause of the labourer, it gave confidence to those who hesitated, it stirred up a Catholic spirit to emulate the organizations of the middle ages, and it turned the attention of the Church as his true friend and protector. The result has been, to create, or help on, a general Catholic movement in each country, to take effective means to relieve the oppression of the modern

commercial system, and faithful to her commission and to her traditions, the Church has warmly espoused by word and deed, the cause of the workman in every country.

In Germany* Monsignor Ketteler, the celebrated Archbishop of Mayence, boldly proclaimed from his pulpit the injustice and iniquity of the position of labour. The Catholic Bishops assembled at Fulda in 1869 to study the social question. The tone of their deliberations may be gathered from the following utterance: "All things summed up, the workman does not labour for himself, but for capital. In the materialistic atmosphere that now pervades the modern industrial world he merely counts as a ware, a live machine, yet all the while he is learning to consider himself as something more than a machine. Can the Church remain indifferent? No; she can and must hasten to the rescue; all her interests are involved in this question. . . . Were she to ignore the social question and limit her action to opposing to its dangers the usual exercises of her ministry, she would be wanting in her duty towards millions of souls, in that office entrusted to her by Christ." The outcome of the deliberations of the Bishops was a forcible appeal for the foundation of clubs for Catholic workmen. Father Kolping, originally a shoemaker, was indefatigable in organizing these journeymen clubs in the district of the Rhine, and within twenty years he succeeded in founding 400 clubs, containing 80,000 members. Other districts took up the movement with vigour, and journeymen clubs exist in every Catholic town. The members must be workmen and Catholics, they undertake to be faithful to the teaching of the Church, and not to join any social democratic association; they must strive their utmost not to be "taken in tow" by capital, and strikes are not absolutely excluded; they should keep aloof from politics except on Catholic questions, but they are free to discuss with calmness all the bearings of their position. A priest is president of each club, but the members of the council may be workmen who have the

* The statistics given below are taken from Professor Nitti's *Catholic Socialism.*

confidence of the clergy. Every week the priest addresses the workmen on some phase of the labour question, invites discussion, and thus learns from them the actual needs and aspirations of the working classes.

Under the influence of the Church, and under the conviction that the solution of labour difficulties is not possible except on the grounds of Christianity, an association of masters has been founded, with a priest for secretary, to consist only of Catholic employers. Mark the objects of this union of Catholic masters: to raise the standard of Christian education and Christian life, to procure greater cordiality between contractors and workmen, to improve workmen's dwellings, to provide for the education, instruction and recreation of the working classes, to form with the co-operation of the workmen economic institutions for their advantage, to attend to the health of working classes and their families, to found institutions for insurance against accident. In the rural districts the same spirit has animated clergy and people, and a Catholic Peasant League has been formed to protect the agricultural workman against high rents and low prices, to help him by combination to obtain stock, material, and implements at wholesale prices, to safeguard him against usury, to prevent the destruction of small farms, and generally to defend his interests. The League numbers 20,000 in Westphalia, 12,000 in Bavaria, 8,500 in Silesia, 3,000 in Nassau, 4,000 in Baden, and 29,000 in the Rhine district. Thus in Germany the Church is in constant activity on behalf of the workman.

In Austria the enemy of labour is the Jew, who pays wages to half the operatives of the country and to more than a fourth of the peasants, yet does nothing to improve the condition of the labourer. A group of earnest Catholics met to consider the pressing grievances, and laid down the principle that the Church alone could solve the social question, that usury was contrary to Christianity, and that society ought to be reorganized on the principle of the Middle Ages. They submitted their conclusions to a Catholic Congress held at Vienna, which discussed the whole subject and inaugurated a general Catholic

organization. Priests in town and country advocated the movement, which the people took up with avidity in order to free themselves from the extortion and usury of the Jews. The persistent agitation of the societies, the advocacy of the Catholic press, and the energy of the Catholic leaders secured the passing of an Act which allowed the incorporation of trades and industrial undertakings, a measure of the utmost advantage to the workman. In 1885 the Catholic party obtained a bill restricting the labour of women and children and fixing eleven hours as a maximum for a day's work. As soon as the trade corporations were established, the Government officials placed such obstacles in their way as to destroy their usefulness, and each Catholic congress has insisted on their unimpeded development. The congress in 1890, at which 23 bishops and 600 priests assisted, unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the restoration of the corporations, the further restriction of the labour of women and children, and the reduction of the working day fixed by Austrian law at eleven hours.

In Switzerland, Catholic action was stimulated by Cardinal Mermillod, who in a sermon that obtained wide celebrity made a stirring appeal to direct attention to the dangerous state of labour. The Church alone, he proclaimed, could restore peace, and he plainly warned the upper classes that if they resisted they would be overwhelmed by the torrent. M. Gaspar Decurtins, an uncompromising Catholic, took the lead in organizing Catholic labour, and he secured the support of all Catholics and also of the greater part of the Swiss working class of every creed. At a meeting at Baden the Swiss Bishops united in urging the clergy to found Catholic labour associations. These societies rapidly appeared in all the Catholic districts, and were directed from a central committee at Zurich. In a manifesto to Catholics it stated that its aim is the study and discussion of the gravest and most ardent questions of the day, and, above all, the social question, to the solution of which it purposes to direct all its efforts.

In France the Catholic labour movement has taken two methods; one repudiates the interference of the State and

relies on voluntary corporations, mutual self-help, and the development of co-operation; the other invites the protection of the State for the organization of labour. Both have been active and earnest, and have sedulously grappled with the evils. After the Commune in 1870 an association called "The Work of the Catholic Workmen Clubs," was started in Paris for the purpose of establishing these clubs throughout France, which for this end was divided into seven zones. The members must be Catholics and conform to certain religious practices. Each club has its chapel, chaplain, recreation-hall, library, and garden. The association strives to regulate labour on the guild or corporation system, and to include the interests of trade and the interests of the family. The club holds property in a form that can be recognized by the law and protected. The members receive assistance in sickness or accident, obtain diplomas as recommendations to Catholic employers, and are helped in finding work. Associations of masters have also been formed, especially in the north of France under the presidency of the Abbé Fichaux, with the object of interesting themselves in the workmen, and treating them with greater care. A special feature in the Catholic action in France is the founding of an order of nuns, the Little Sisters of the Workman, who dedicate their lives to his moral and domestic well being. They have access to the works, visit his home, look to his children, cook his dinner if necessary, and with tact and delicacy help him in many kind offices, spiritual and temporal.

In Belgium, a hive of industry, bishops and clergy have espoused the cause of the workmen with heart and soul. The Bishop of Liège has taken the lead, and is said to have lost a third of his income from the rich through his advocacy of the poor labourer. Catholics have a powerful labour federation, co-operative societies, societies of employers, and a society for emigration. Every town and village has it Catholic association. The union of masters founded by the Bishop of Liège for the religious, moral and economic improvement of the working classes, includes 200 firms, and publishes a monthly journal. Through the combined effort of the clergy and the associations, Catholic

workmen have a substantial representation in the Belgium Parliament. In Italy the peculiar position of Catholics has hindered much organization, and effort has been restricted to private exertion. Spain has suffered from the Carlist troubles, and from the violent action of Anarchists and Socialists, which has caused organization of labour to be regarded with distrust. Attempts have been made; the Archbishop of Madrid in a pastoral advocated the cause of the workman, and in the dioceses of Tolosa and Valencia there are thirty clubs of agricultural labourers with 12,000 members.

In England the influence of Cardinal Manning is not yet effaced. No one was better loved by working men, for no one pleaded their cause more fearlessly or lovingly. From the pulpit, from the platform, from an improvised standing-place in the midst of a crowd of grimy faces, he spoke with clearness and precision of the rights and wrongs of labour. On its behalf he wielded his pen in the Press, he kept in touch with labour leaders of other countries, he gathered opinions and knowledge from men of every stamp, and cheerfully gave his sympathy and co-operation to every movement for the welfare and comfort of the poor. The situation of Catholics in England has prevented the Church from forming labour organizations distinctly Catholic, but the interest and active sympathy of the clergy have been constantly manifested in labour troubles, and their efforts have been untiring in founding with limited means societies and institutions for easing the workmen's burdens. Rarely has a nation trusted so confidingly to the Church as Catholic Ireland. There labour troubles have depressed the workmen below starvation point to fever and death; there the pressure of want has driven the hungry labourer into exile, and there his chief mainstay and only consolation has been the Church. Throughout the struggles for tenant-right, reduction of rents, compensation for improvements, and other labour demands, the priest has thrown in his lot with the labourer, has fought with him and for him, has shared his sufferings and his want, and at the same time has comforted and cheered him with the soothing touch of a mother.

If brighter days are in store—which may God grant!—may Ireland never forget the fostering care of the Church in her dark days.

This rapid survey of the action of the Church in Europe to-day suffices to give testimony that she is now, as she was in the beginning, the refuge of the oppressed, the protector of labour. She was not daunted by the intensity and extent of the misery and degradation of the Roman slave, nor is she now deterred by the range and intricacy involved in the modern conditions of labour. She confronted slave labour with determination and prudence, without violent change or destruction of society, so with the same spirit and the same discretion she has set herself to meet present evils without overthrowing the complex machinery of commerce. She does not stay to unravel economic puzzles; that is not her mission, but she sees the workman in distress and oppressed by capital, and throughout Europe she has taken practical means to lighten his burdens and to give him some degree of independence. The Church alone attempts to control the inmost cause of the labour struggles, the greed of capitalists and the excited passions of the workmen, and by her Catholic organizations, whether of masters or men, she can use that influence over the human heart that Christ has committed to her. She is specially fitted to deal with the far reaching complications of the modern system. The deeper the study of the social question and the condition of labour the more it becomes apparent that a thorough solution cannot be attained by any one nation. The dependence of one country upon another for articles in daily use, the keen competition between home and imported goods, the rivalry to secure foreign markets, make it difficult to enforce an adequate wage or generous treatment of the workman in any one country, and point to a general understanding, an international agreement.

The only existing agency capable of promoting common action amongst nations is the Church. She is Catholic, she is everywhere, she is bound to uphold the principles of justice, and she could adjudicate equitably between the

demands of capitalist and workman. On the confidence of the workman the Church has a powerful claim from the record of the past. When he was a slave she nursed him, she strengthened him, she brought out his manhood and gave him his home and his liberty: when he was a serf she worked with him, she cheered his toil, she brought him comforts and watched over him until he obtained his freedom; when he was a craftsman she breathed the spirit of piety and charity into him, she brought peace to his work and comfort to his hearth, and made him contented and happy. Through the long ages she has been his friend, his protector, his champion: it has been her mission, her duty, and a labour of love: whatever may be his distress, hardships, or oppression, he can rely with confidence upon her support, her assistance and her fostering care.

CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD

OR

WAS ANY VISIBLE AND EXTERNAL PRIESTHOOD INSTITUTED BY CHRIST?

BY THE
REV. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R.

I. The Protestant Answer.

THE above question was answered very emphatically by the early Protestants. I am sorry to begin my paper by a record of blasphemy, but I do not know how otherwise to show the nature and importance of the subject. "Be certain," wrote Luther, "and never let yourself be persuaded to the contrary, if you wish to hold pure Christian truth, that there is no visible and external priesthood in the New Testament, except what Satan has set up through human lies. Sacrificing masses have been invented to insult the Lord's Testament, therefore nothing in the whole world is so much to be avoided and detested. *It is better to be a public bawd or robber than a priest of this sort.*" * Calvin said that the

* *De Abroganda Missa.*

opinion that in the Lord's Supper there is a Sacrifice whereby we get remission of sins, is an opinion "to be taken away and *condemned as devilish*."* The Augustan Confession of Luther and Melancthon declares: "that all the faithful are priests, and can offer spiritual sacrifice to God, and there is no other priesthood or sacrifice instituted by Christ in the Church; and that the office of ministers in the Church is to preach and dispense sacraments, not to offer sacrifice." Latimer thus preached before Edward VI.: "All those that be mass-mongers be deniers of Christ, which believe or trust in the sacrifice of the mass, and seek remission of their sins therein. For this opinion hath done very much harm, and *brought innumerable souls to the pit of hell*, for they believed the mass to be a sacrifice for the dead and living."† Cranmer wrote: "As for the saying or singing of mass by the priest, as it was in times past used, it is neither a sacrifice propitiatory nor yet a sacrifice of laud or thanksgiving, nor in any wise allowed before God, but *abominable and detestable*."‡ Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York in the time of Queen Elizabeth, wrote: "There can be no sacrifice without a priest, as there can be no priest where there is no sacrifice. In the Scriptures I find a threefold priesthood allowed of God, a Levitical priesthood, a royal priesthood figured in Melchisedech and verified in Christ, a spiritual priesthood, belonging generally to all Christians. The Levitical priesthood continued unto Christ, then ceased. . . . Neither is there in the royal priesthood of Melchisedech any other that hath succeeded but only Christ. . . . The

* Coverdale's tr. of Calvin's *Treatise on the Sacrament.*

† *Sermon* 28. p. 522 (Parker Soc. Ed.).

‡ *The Lord's Supper*, bk. v.

third priesthood is that which is common to all Christians, for 'He hath made us kings and priests unto God His Father' (Rev. i. 6). Where the popish priesthood taketh footing, in what ground the foundation thereof is laid, I cannot find in the scriptures. *Antichrist is the author of that priesthood; to him they sacrifice, him they serve.*"*

Holding these opinions, the first English reformers and Elizabethan bishops broke all altar stones in pieces, or trampled them underfoot, procured the imprisonment or banishment of all priests, and the imposition of heavy penalties for saying or hearing Mass, and at last made it a capital crime to be ordained priest on the continent and to exercise such priesthood in England. Yet, by a singular inconsistency, if a Catholic priest, ordained to say Mass, apostatized, they accepted his orders as sufficient for their own ministry.

II. The Catholic Answer.

In opposition and contradiction to the above statements is the doctrine of the Council of Trent:

"Forasmuch as, under the former Testament, according to the testimony of the Apostle Paul, there was no perfection, because of the weakness of the Levitical priesthood (Heb. vii. 11. 18); there was need, God the Father of mercies so ordaining, that another priest should rise according to the order of Melchisedech (Heb. vii. 11), our Lord Jesus Christ, who might consummate and lead to what is perfect, as many as were to be sanctified. He therefore, our God and Lord, though he was about to offer Himself once on the altar of the cross unto God the Father, by means of

* *Sermon* 21. p. 411 (Parker Soc. Ed.).

His death there to operate an eternal Redemption (Heb. ix. 12); nevertheless, because that His priesthood was not to be extinguished by His death—in the last supper, on the night in which He was betrayed, that He might leave to His beloved spouse, the Church, a visible sacrifice, such as the nature of man requires, whereby that bloody sacrifice once to be accomplished on the cross might be represented, and the memory thereof remain even unto the end of the world, and its salutary virtue be applied to the remission of those sins which we daily commit, declaring Himself constituted a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, He offered up to God the Father His own body and blood, under the species of bread and wine. And under the symbols of those same things, He delivered His own body and blood to be received by His apostles, whom He then constituted priests of the New Testament. And by those words: 'Do this in commemoration of Me,' He commanded them and their successors in the priesthood to offer them, even as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught.

"For, having celebrated the ancient Passover, which the multitude of the children of Israel immolated in memory of their going out of Egypt, He instituted the new Passover, to wit Himself, to be immolated under visible signs by the Church, through the ministry of priests, in memory of His own passage from this world unto the Father, when by the effusion of His own blood He redeemed us, and delivered us from the power of darkness and translated us into His kingdom (Col. i. 13).

"And this is indeed that clean oblation, which cannot be defiled by any unworthiness or malice of those

that offer it; which the Lord foretold by Malachias was to be offered in every place, clean to His Name, which was to be great among the Gentiles (Mal. i. 11.); and which the Apostle Paul, writing to the Corinthians, has not obscurely indicated, when he says that they who are defiled by the participation of the table of devils cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord (1 Cor. x. 21); by *the table* meaning in both places the altar. This in fine is that oblation which was prefigured by various types of sacrifices, during the period of nature and of the law, inasmuch as it comprises all the good things signified by those sacrifices, as being the consummation and perfection of them all.

"And, for as much as in this divine sacrifice which is celebrated in the Mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner, who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross; the holy Synod teaches that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory, and that by means thereof this is effected, that we obtain mercy and find grace in seasonable aid, if we draw nigh unto God contrite and penitent with a sincere heart and upright faith, with fear and reverence. For the Lord, appeased by the oblation thereof, and granting the grace and gift of penitence, forgives even heinous crimes and sins.

"For the Victim is one and the same, the same now offering by the ministry of priests, who then offered Himself on the Cross, the manner alone of offering being different. The fruits indeed of which oblation, of that bloody one (to wit), are received most plentifully through this unbloody one; so far is this latter from derogating in any way from that former oblation. Wherefore, not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful who are

living, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and who are not as yet fully purified, is it rightly offered, agreeably to a tradition of the Apostles."*

In this passage the Council declares our Lord to be the great High Priest, and to have conferred priesthood on His Apostles, and also to have appointed a succession of priests in His Church to endure to the end. In another Session the Council treated more fully of this matter, and it will be better to give the exact words of the dogmatic decrees:

Canon I.—"If any one saith that there is not in the New Testament a visible and external priesthood; or that there is not any power of consecrating and offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord, and of forgiving and retaining sins; but only an office and bare ministry of preaching the Gospel; or that those who do not preach are not priests at all; let him be anathema."

Canon II.—"If any one saith that, besides the priesthood, there are not in the Catholic Church other orders, both greater and minor, by which, as by certain steps, advance is made unto the priesthood; let him be anathema."

Canon III.—"If any one saith that Order, or sacred ordination, is not truly and properly a sacrament instituted by Christ the Lord; or that it is a kind of human figment devised by men unskilled in ecclesiastical matters; or that it is only a kind of rite for choosing ministers of the word of God and of the sacraments; let him be anathema. . . ."

Canon IV.—"If any one saith that by sacred ordination the Holy Ghost is not given; and that vainly therefore do the bishops say, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost;*

* Council of Trent, Sess. 22 (Waterworth's translation).

or that a character is not imprinted by that ordination, or that he who has once been a priest can again become a layman; let him be anathema."

Canon VII.—"If any one saith that bishops are not superior to priests; or that they have not the power of confirming and ordaining; or that the power which they possess is common to them and to priests; or that orders conferred by them without the consent or vocation of the people, or of the secular power, are invalid; or that those who have neither been rightly ordained nor sent by ecclesiastical and canonical power, but come from elsewhere, are lawful ministers of the word and of the sacraments; let him be anathema." *

III. Priest and Minister.

We have thus far a double statement—first, the Protestant rejection of external priesthood, a rejection never heard of among any men called by the Christian name, except in some Manichean sects of the twelfth century, and never formulated in so extreme and furious a fashion until the sixteenth century; and secondly, the Catholic affirmation of external priesthood, as held universally in the Christian Church in every age. It was held in the Eastern Churches separated from the Holy Roman See, as well as by nearly all ancient heretical sects. The present paper is written, not with the purpose of giving in detail all the grounds on which rests the Catholic doctrine, but to clear the matter from confusion and ambiguity, so that the reader, when he hears men denouncing priesthood or priest-craft, or, on the other hand, Anglican clergymen claiming priesthood, may be able to understand the

* Council of Trent, Sess. 23.

exact points in controversy, and so follow intelligently what is said on either side. We must then, first notice the ambiguities that lurk in the words Priest, and Minister, and the different senses that these words bear.

The word Priest. It is good to get at the etymology or root of a word, though the present signification may have wandered far from the original use. The word priest is the modern form of the Anglo-Saxon *preost*. But *preost* is not a Teutonic word, it is an adaptation of the Latin *presbyter;* and presbyter is itself the Latin form of πρεσβύτερος, an elder, the comparative of πρεσβύς an old man.* Of course a man may either be old in years, or character and position may supply the maturity which years are supposed to bring.† The word is in frequent use in the New Testament to designate certain spiritual rulers or ministers in the Christian Church. It was, however, the word used in English to translate not only *presbyter*, but *sacerdos* and ἱερεύς, the Latin and Greek words for a man appointed to offer sacrifice, whether amongst Jews or heathen. Neither of these words etymologically indicates sacrifice. They mean one conversant with sacred things; but as the most sacred things of Jews and heathen were the sacrifices, the words *sacerdos* and *hiereus* meant, by usage, a sacrificing priest. Of course if there is external sacrifice among Christians and if it holds a high place, then all will admit that its minister or offerer should be called *sacerdos*, or priest, taken in its sacer-

* Ogilvie derives it from *præstes*, a president. The derivation given above is more generally accepted, and in harmony with other European languages.

† Thus *alderman* was originally an older man, and *yeoman* a young man.

dotal sense. The Anglo-Saxon Christians sometimes gave the name *preost* even to the inferior orders of the clergy, and designated the priest who offered the Christian Sacrifice as *mæse-preost*, or mass-priest. They used also occasionally the word *sacerd*, from the Latin, but it has left no equivalent substantive in modern English.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Protestants commonly called Catholic priests "mass-priests," and Catholic chapels "mass-houses," out of contempt. It is but natural that since that time Catholics have entirely ceased to use the word mass-priest. It had indeed fallen into disuse long before the Reformation. As the word priest had become thoroughly associated with the idea of sacrifice, efforts were made by the early reformers to substitute for it the word elder in the New Testament and minister in the Liturgy. But it was too deeply rooted in the language and the laws to be got rid of. It remains therefore in the Church of England Common Prayer Book, as well as in ordinary use. It has sometimes a wide or literary signification, as applied to the minister of all religions*, for the most part with an evil or contemptuous signification. Thus when William Howitt wrote his "History of Priestcraft" he referred as much to Protestants as to Catholics; when Lord Jeffrey tells Byron, "he has no priestlike cant or priestlike reviling to apprehend of us," he was alluding entirely to Protestant ministers, although those of the Scotch Kirk seldom if ever call themselves priests. Sometimes the word is used to designate a special degree, in the hierarchy, as distinct from that of bishop and deacon. Opinions however differ widely among Anglicans as

* "Prêtre," says Littré, in his great Dictionary, "en general, celui qui préside aux cérémonies d'un culte religieux quel qu'il soit."

to the powers and functions of a priest; some claim for him all that is claimed for the Catholic priest; others, as we have seen, denounce such claims as antichristian, execrable and diabolical.

The word Minister meaning properly one who serves, may be applied to one who serves God, one who serves his neighbour, or one who serves another of higher degree than himself. In all these senses it is of frequent use among Catholics. The blessed martyr John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, beautifully writes as follows: "God's Providence has arranged that the inferior bodies prone to change and to corruption, should be refreshed, vivified and perpetuated by the influence of the higher bodies, to which He has given, not only greater durability, but also the virtue of shining, illuminating, heating, moistening, and enlivening, thundering and lightening. So it is in the Church; and therefore the Holy Ghost, in the Psalms, compares the Apostles and other ministers of God to the heavens, the people to the earth. Like heavenly bodies, the ministers of God illuminate by the splendour of their lives, warm by the ardour of their charity, moisten by their counsels, vivify by their promises, thunder by their threats, flash by their miracles. This was not only so in the days of the Apostles. The Church is ever one and the same, and now stands in need of these ministers no less than then." *

Protestants, no less than Catholics, admit the need of ministers; yet there is a great variety of opinion among them as to their appointment, authority, and functions. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, teach that no class of men should be set apart by preparation, education, or ordination to minister to others; but that

* *De Sacerdotio*, Cong. 2nd. Tertium Axioma.

Christians who feel the ability and have the zeal, should preach, or preside, or perform whatever other ministerial functions there may be; that this power belongs to women no less than to men, and that St. Paul's prohibition to women to preach regarded only certain times and countries. In a word they consider the Christian ministry as a gift, not an office. They are fond of denouncing "man-made ministers." The Plymouth Brethren are said to distinguish between ministry and local charges. The Quakers have no sacraments, not even baptism, while the Plymouth Brethren both administer baptism and celebrate "the Lord's Supper," but require no special ordained ministers to perform or preside at these functions.

Some Protestants look on the ministry as a mere profession or division of labour; that as certain men study and devote themselves to law or medicine, so do others to religion; that their guarantee is in their ability and success; they have no extrinsic authority. Others hold that ministers should have their qualifications tested and authority given by the congregation to which they are called to minister. This may be compared to the licence given to an attorney or surgeon; it confers no powers, but is a testimonial of fitness.

Very different is the teaching of those Protestants who hold what is called Apostolical Succession. These consider that the power to administer sacraments, and authority to rule and teach, must come by ordination from bishops who succeed in unbroken line from the Apostles. This is called High Church doctrine; but it does not necessarily involve the priesthood as held by Catholics. The Catholic Church teaches that in the Holy Eucharist the Gospel priest offers Christ, in His Body and Blood, for the living and the dead, and that

by virtue of the power to make such an offering, he is a priest. Until the last fifty or sixty years no Anglicans claimed the priesthood in this sense. They all denounced such claims as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."* Here, however, we are not concerned with the claims of High Churchmen or of Ritualists, nor need we meddle with the question of Anglican Orders.

IV. Language of the New Testament.

Before giving the grounds on which the Catholic doctrine of Christian priesthood rests, it will be useful to answer the negative argument commonly put forward by Protestants. I have explained the force of the word *hiereus* or *sacerdos*. It is said then by Protestants, that the name *hiereus* is given to Jesus Christ in the New Testament, because He did offer Himself as an external sacrifice upon the cross. It is also given in general to all Christians, as by St. Peter: "Be you as living stones built up, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices. . . . You are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood" (1 St. Peter ii. 5, 9). On the other hand the name priest is never given to any class of Christian ministers. Hence it is concluded that they have no sacerdotal office, except in the purely spiritual sense in which they have it with all Christians.

Answer. The words of St. Peter present no difficulty. God had sent word by Moses to the people of Israel "You shall be to me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation" (Exod. xix. 6). The general priesthood thus

* See Cardinal Newman's Preface to Mr. Hutton's *Anglican Ministry*, and a paper published by the Catholic Truth Society, called *The Sacrifices of Masses* (1d.).

assigned to the whole nation in no way excluded an official priesthood, but rather presupposed it. The same therefore may be the case with those whom St. Peter addresses. A nation may be kingly and yet have special kings; so it may be a kingly priesthood and yet have priests, in the official sense of the word. Why then, it is objected, is the name never given in the New Testament to Christ's ministers, as it is continually given in the Old Testament to the ministers of the tabernacle? "No one," replied Blessed John Fisher, "ought to think this strange. For if we attentively consider all such appellations we shall find that the sacred writers do not give great care to such matters. A few examples will prove what I say. The names, ministry, and minister, may be considered as belonging in general to all Christians, and so are frequently used in the New Testament, yet they are also very often given in a peculiar sense to Apostles, Bishops and Presbyters. Thus St. Paul writes to St. Timothy: "Fulfil thy ministry" (2 Tim. iv. 5), and, in the Epistle to the Colossians, "Take heed to thy ministry, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it" (Col. iv. 17), and in the Acts of the Apostles it is said of Judas that "he had obtained a part of this ministry" (Acts i. 17). And still more peculiar is the use in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. The old translation has "ministrantibus autem illis Domino" ("while they were ministering to the Lord)," which Erasmus has translated "Quum autem sacrificarent Domino" ("while they were sacrificing to the Lord.") For λειτουργία is a word that belongs to those who sacrifice and therefore to priests, and hence the sacrifice of the altar is often called liturgy by the Fathers.

"So again, the name of Presbyter, according to the

force of the word, belongs to all elders, and is so used by St. Paul: "An ancient man (a presbyter) rebuke not, but entreat him as a father" (1 Tim. v. 1). Yet the same apostle gives to it also a special sense "For this cause I left thee in Crete that thou shouldst ordain presbyters in every city, as I also appointed thee" (Tit. i. 5); where the word certainly indicates not age but dignity. Titus could give a degree of honour, he could not confer years. Titus and Timothy were both young, yet they were certainly presbyters. So also the names of Bishop and Presbyter are often interchanged, and the same are called Bishops who before had been called Presbyters, as may be seen by comparing Acts xx. 17, where Paul summons the *ancients* to meet him, with v. 28, where in his address he calls them bishops. Even the name of apostles, if you consider its meaning, was common to the seventy disciples, for it means a messenger and thus it is used in St. John, "The servant is not greater than his lord, neither is the apostle(the messenger) greater than he that sent him" (St. John xiii. 16). Yet it was applied especially to the twelve.

"From these and other examples which might be adduced it is clear that the exact meaning of such words must be learnt from tradition. If anyone would contend by a merely negative argument that the apostles were not priests because they are never thus called, we might just as easily prove that St. John the Evangelist thought that there was no difference between apostles and disciples. For throughout his whole gospel he never mentions the apostles under that name, but always calls them disciples.

"It is not wonderful that the Holy Ghost afterwards wished that among Presbyters and Bishops there should

be a difference of degree, since Christ Himself in the gospel had given so evident a model, dividing the seventy disciples from the twelve apostles, as well as from the rest of the multitude. For if Christ judged such distinction to be necessary in that little flock, who does not see how much more necessary it is in the great mass of Christians, more numerous than the stars of heaven? Rightly then, and not without the guidance of the Holy Ghost, are those whom we call bishops, or higher priests, believed to have succeeded to the apostles, and Presbyters or lesser priests to the seventy disciples."*

In another place the holy and learned bishop thus writes:—"One reason why the sacred writers do not give the name of priest to the Apostles, Bishops and Presbyters was that the ancient priesthood still subsisted, and sacrifices were still offered in the temple. But when the temple was overthrown, and the former priests had come to naught, the reason for this reticence no longer existed."† This reason will admit some further development. There was not merely a chance of making a confusion of persons by the use of the word priest, if applied to Gospel ministers at that time, but a danger of confusing offices. For though both the ministers of Christ and the ministers of the Temple were priests, the Jewish priests were sacrificing priests, and nothing, or very little, more. In them the word priest suggested the sacrificial function exclusively. But to the Christian priest belonged much more than the function of offering sacrifice, his office was to preach and teach, and that through the whole earth, and to baptize all nations. He had also in the fulfil-

* De Sac. Sacerdotii Defens. Congr. iii. cap 18, 19.

† Ibid. Cong. i. cap. 19.

ment of the charge—"teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (St. Matt. xxviii. 20)—an amount of inspection, legislative and executive action, that should make the widest difference between it and the Jewish ministry. From all this follows the expediency of not all at once,—and not until the true idea of the Christian Church became generally known and established,—giving a name to the Christian priesthood, which might create in the minds of many an erroneous impression of its nature and office.*

Dr. Patrick Murray, whose words I have just abridged, adds: "Though we hold the sacrifice of the Mass to be a true sacrifice and the Christian priesthood to be a true priesthood; yet there are some important points of difference between them and the Jewish 1. The Jewish sacrifices were bloody, the sacrifice of the Mass is unbloody. 2. The victim in our sacrifice is the same as in the sacrifice of the cross, though offered up in a different manner; the victims in the Jewish sacrifices, though typical of the victim in the one great sacrifice, were entirely different. 3. The Jewish priests offered sacrifice in their own name, and not as standing in the place of another and higher priest; the Christian priest offers sacrifice in the name of Christ, representing Him, who is the principal offerer. Hence, 4. The Jewish priests succeeded one to another; our priests do not succeed to Christ, but, as has just been said, represent him. Hence, if the Apostles had used the word *hiereus* to designate the Christian priest, while the Jewish sacrifices still continued to be offered up in the Temple of Jerusalem, there would have been danger, not only of producing a false idea of the office of our priesthood, but also of

* See Dr. Murray's Theological Essays, vol. iv. p. 418.

the nature of our sacrifice, both as to the victim and the oblation."

V. The Christian High Priest and His Vicars.

What has just been said will be made clearer and more forcible if we consider our Lord's own priesthood, and in what sense it is shared by Christian priests. It will have been seen from the quotations from the Protestant reformers made at the beginning of this paper that their denunciations are all founded on the most unwarranted supposition that the sacrifice of the Mass supersedes that of the Cross, and that the Catholic priest supersedes our Lord Jesus Christ. The Catholic priest is supposed to aim at completing what our Lord had left imperfect; therefore he is represented as our Lord's enemy and a sacrilegious robber of the honour of the one Redeemer. The same supposition runs through a number of Protestant doctrines. Our works of penance or satisfaction are denounced as if they made void the perfect atonement of Christ. The prayers of the saints are denounced as rivalling our Lord's intercession. Honour given to the saints is represented as dishonour to their heavenly King. In a word everywhere fruit is spoken of as a dishonour to the fruit tree. This principle carried out leads to Socinianism. For if Mary rob Jesus (which God forbid!) then our Lord's humanity must needs rob His Divine Nature (execrable thought!) and the Incarnation is impossible. Again, if the prayers of the saints in heaven are opposed to our Lord's intercession, then our earthly prayers must also be injurious to Him. If the merit of good works and the satisfactory power of penance are opposed to our Lord's atonement and holiness, then human

preaching must be opposed to His earthly preaching and to the interior teaching of the Holy Ghost, a principle partially admitted, though only partially, by the sect of Quakers.

Most Protestants—very inconsistently with their general maxims—seem cordially to accept the principle that the preaching of human ministers is in no way opposed to our Lord's teaching office, nor even supplementary, but rather one and the same thing with it. It is our Lord's preaching continued by Himself throughout the ages. And to their purpose they rightly quote His own words: "He that heareth you, heareth Me." Catholics carry out this principle. They most consistently hold that the prayers which men say on earth for themselves or for their neighbours, and the prayers said by the saints in heaven for their brethren on earth, are a part of our Lord's intercession, a pleading of His merits. So again our good works and our satisfactions are a part of His holiness and suffering, because they proceed from the grace that He has merited and bestows: "I live," says St. Paul, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." In a similar way the priesthood in the Church is a part of our Lord's own priesthood. The sacrifice of the Mass is not necessary because of any insufficiency in the sacrifice of the Cross, but on the contrary it is the overflowing of its fulness, the daily application of its inexhaustible treasures. Nothing but a total misconception of this matter could make Protestants object against the Catholic doctrine the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apostle there proves (ch. ix.) the insufficiency of the victims offered on the Jewish altars from their very numbers. Christians offer many Masses but they know only one victim, the Lamb of God. Nor has that victim to be often immolated,

says the apostle—He died once for all. So also teaches the Catholic Church. But that one death can be ever commemorated and applied; and not merely commemorated by thought or word or image, but mystically renewed and sacrificially commemorated on ten thousand altars. This has been already explained in the words quoted from the Council of Trent. It is thus stated in other words by the great Bossuet, "A sacrifice in which the victim is seen only with the eye of faith; in which the word is the sword that mystically separates the body and the blood; and in which, consequently, the blood is shed but mysteriously, and death exhibited only as a memorial; a sacrifice, however, that is truly real, because Jesus Christ is really therein contained, and really, in it, under these symbols of His passion, offered up to His Eternal Father; a sacrifice still of commemoration, which so far from detaching us from the sacrifice of the Cross, does on the contrary, by all this variety of circumstances, attach us the more forcibly to it; because not only is the former referred only to the latter, but it subsists solely by this relation, and from it derives the whole of its sacred efficacy." *

This whole mystery of our Lord's priesthood is so great, that it was only gradually revealed. He had indeed been foretold by the Psalmist as "a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech" (Ps. cix). Yet He is not once called a priest in any of the Gospels. In fact in one book only of the New Testament is this title given to Him, and that is when its meaning is thoroughly explained, and the Hebrew types are shown to have been fulfilled in Him (Epistle to Hebrews). No wonder then that the vicarious priesthood of His ministers was not crudely announced. It could not be

* Bossuet, *Exposition of the Catholic Faith.*

understood until Christ's High Priesthood was properly grasped. For, as I have said, it is a part of it. But am I not wrong in saying that our Lord's Priesthood is thoroughly explained even in the Epistle to the Hebrews? When the sacred writer first quotes those words "according to the order of Melchisedech" he immediately adds "of whom we have much to say, and hard to be intelligibly uttered, because you are become weak to hear" (Heb. v. 10, 11). He, therefore, enters no further into the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, of which Melchisedech's offering of bread and wine was undoubtedly a type, for so the Church has ever understood from the tradition of the Apostles.

VI. The Foundation of Catholic Belief.

I may now state in a few words how we know with certainty that there is a true external priesthood in the Church of Christ. It was not gathered by induction from the account given in the first three Gospels of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, for this plain reason that the Eucharist was everywhere celebrated, with full knowledge of its nature and purpose, before anyone of those Gospels was written. Much less then was it derived from a study of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, since these were of a still later date. When St. Paul wrote the words: "The chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" and the rest (1 Cor. x. 16), he was not teaching the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, but calling attention to it, and drawing a conclusion from it, as from a matter well known—"I speak as to wise men, judge ye yourselves what I say" (Ibid. 15). Nor was he teaching the Corinthians

how to celebrate; for this they had learned already from himself, at the foundation of their Church, and they had their priests or ministers, properly trained and instructed, celebrating the mysteries day after day. If then Protestants say: "We have studied carefully the New Testament and we find no indication of a sacrifice in the accounts of the Holy Eucharist, and no mention of a Christian external priesthood in the allusions to the functions of Christ's ministers"—we answer: "What then? You are fumbling in the lock without the proper key." The Eucharist in the Church is the proper key to the records in the Gospels, and the Priesthood in the Church is the authorized guardian of its own traditions. With these as the legitimate and God-given key we find a most coherent and beautiful account both of Sacrifice and Priesthood in the sacred writings; we find all ancient types verified in a worthy antitype, all prophecies fulfilled; we find the symbolism of a real sacrifice and the commemoration of the Victim on the Cross, in the consecration of the bread and wine into our Lord's Body and Blood, in their sacramental separation and consumption.

That the first Christians held with the Catholic Church of to-day the three cognate doctrines of priest, altar, and sacrifice, is abundantly clear even from the scanty remains of early Christian writings and other monuments that have come down to us. I have no room to quote passages, but the matter is sufficiently acknowledged by the more learned and candid among Protestants. Thomas Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, wrote in 1562: "It must needs be that ye sucked this error [of the sacrifice of the Mass] out of the phrases and fashions of speaking that the old fathers used, perverting the same to a far worse sense

than ever they meant it."* Forced as they are to admit that the first Christians spoke constantly of altar, sacrifice, oblation and priesthood, Protestants try to shirk the argument by affirming that the sacrifice consists in thanksgiving, in mental commemoration of our Lord's death, in prayer and praise, and alms, and even in the offering of bread and wine, but not in the offering of our Lord's Body and Blood, and deny that the sacrifice was looked on by the Fathers of the Church as propitiatory. All this only proves how vain is their contention that the words sacrifice and priesthood do not occur in the New Testament, since even if they occurred as often as they do in sub-apostolic writers, they would be explained away in the same manner.

VII. Causes of Protestant Antipathy.

It may occur perhaps to some to ask how the first Protestants came to write with such vehemence and violence against the priesthood, as in the words with which this paper opens. I can but give my own opinion, formed upon an intimate acquaintance with their writings. It is that they were compelled to do so by the position they had taken up. They had rejected the authority of the visible Church and separated from her communion. Unless they had been driven to this course by some abominable and diabolical corruptions, their own rebellion was evidently unjustifiable and detestable. They were forced therefore to say that Christ's Church had fallen under the dominion of antichrist. Luther, for example, found the plea of abuse of indulgences unequal to uphold his conduct; he was

* *Answer to Apology to Private Mass*, p. 68 (Parker Soc. Ed.).

driven therefore to invent the theory of the general corruption of the Church by the Roman See, which he called the "Captivity of Babylon," and from that to the abrogation of the Mass, though the Mass had not at first entered into his list of things to be reformed; and he thought the best way to take leave of his former self, as well as to break with Christendom, was to maintain that a priest who offered sacrifice was worse than a bawd or a public robber! Some reformers, especially in Switzerland and England, placed at first the great crime of the Church in the honour given to images; but as there were no dogmatic decrees on this matter with which to pick a quarrel serious enough for the occasion, it was found more effectual to attack the central rite, in which lay the very life of the Church, and its essential organization, and to say that she had gone utterly astray in her worship, her sacrifice and her priesthood.

As to the vehemence of their language, it simply shows that, like Bombastes Furioso or Shakspeare's braggarts, they were trying to make up by big words for interior cowardice. As a boy whistles as he passes through the churchyard, to keep up his courage, so very often infidels and heretics blaspheme vehemently to justify their actions or to stifle their consciences or misgivings.

One trick of the first reformers and of many of their successors I cannot entirely pass over. It is pretended that there was arrogance in claiming the powers of the priesthood and humility in rejecting them. But those, who will read the history of heresies carefully, will seek in vain for the signs of humility in Berengarius, Wycliff, Luther, Calvin, Latimer and the rest; just as they would look in vain for arrogance in such men as St. Anselm

or Blessed John Fisher, who upheld the powers of the priesthood. In repudiating priestly powers the heresiarchs by no means repudiated supremacy over the people. They sought rather to establish a personal supremacy on what was distinctively their own. These men were priests, but it was because they possessed the powers of their priesthood in common with so many thousands of others, that they held them so cheap. They attracted no attention, they brought their possessors little honour. Subtilty in dispute, novelty in views, the apparent boldness of attacking the Church, these things made the heresiarchs famous. If they made enemies they gained also vehement partisans, and there are many who prefer the glory and even the danger of a battle, to peace in obscurity. To repudiate their priesthood on the grounds that all the people were holy, was a way of currying favour with the multitude at least as old as the establishment of the Jewish priesthood, and St. Jude tells us that "the contradiction of Core" is ever one of the fashions of heresiarchs. *

Many modern writers extol the abnegation and humility of Wycliff, Zuingle or Cranmer in denying the power to transubstantiate bread and wine into our Lord's Body and Blood. To me it appears that they merely substituted a diabolical for a divine transubstantiation. Is it not a kind of transubstantiation to retain the external words of Holy Scripture and to charm away the true divine sense of those words, substituting a new and human sense in its place? For what is the substance of revelation but the sense or meaning of the words? And what are the words themselves but the accidents? There was a sense

* See Numbers xvi.; St. Jude v. 11.

attached by apostolic tradition to the sentence "the Word was made flesh," which the Arians tried to charm away. So too there was a sense attached by apostolic tradition to the words "This is My Body," "Do this for a commemoration of Me," to the words elder, presbyter, priest and pastor, which the Protestant reformers tried to eliminate, while retaining the words of Scripture. This is what St. Peter calls the wresting of Scripture by the unlearned and unstable to their own destruction.* The unlearned are not necessarily the uneducated and the grossly ignorant. Men versed in natural science and in literature, and in the letter of the Holy Scriptures are often the greatest perverters of God's written word, when they are unlearned in the living and practical science of Divine things, which is taught by the Holy Spirit in its fulness only in the living communion of the Catholic Church in which He dwells. May God grant to all of us this true learning, and stability in the true faith to the end.

VIII. Conclusion.

I have mentioned in this paper the sect of the Quakers. They go much further from primitive Christianity than did Luther and Calvin, for they reject not only priesthood, but all official ministry in the Church. But they are not apostate Catholics like those first reformers, and in general they speak in pure ignorance of that which they reject. Of this I will give an interesting example. Mary Howitt, a well-known writer who died in 1888, was brought up a Quaker. Her husband, William Howitt, was also educated in the same sect. In 1833, Mary Howitt writes: "William is very busy in writing

* 2 St. Peter iii. 16.

a history of priestcraft. It will be a work of wonderful interest, such a thing as ought to be written," &c.*

When she thus wrote she was thirty-four years old. At the age of seventy-one, by residence in Rome and Tyrol, her mind had been much widened, and many prejudices had slipped away. She then wrote as follows: "What an extraordinary thing is Roman Catholicism! the system is one of the sublimest schemes of priestcraft and spiritual domination that was ever conceived. At the top all is rotten, but at the bottom God, who over-rules all things, has caused it to strike its roots into the soil of the common humanity, and send up shoots and crops of an active, a holy and an indefatigable beneficence such as present Protestantism knows nothing of." †

At seventy-four her mind was still widening, for she had got to know priests at least in books. "There are so many sides to truth if people would only look at them. I am reading the Life of Père Besson, that good, pure-lived Dominican artist. What a beautiful revelation it is of the higher class of the Catholic priesthood! No George Fox [the founder of the Quakers] or John Wesley [of the Methodists], no George Herbert or Jeremy Taylor [Church of England clergymen], no Bunyan or Baxter [Nonconformists] were any of them purer, truer, or more faithful followers of Christ. There are thousands of noble Christian Catholics.' "‡

At the age of eighty-one she had advanced farther: "I never, till I knew as much of Catholics and their life of faith and prayer as I now do, could have believed the same amount of child-like trust existing in the hearts and souls of grave earnest men and women as I

* *Mary Howitt, an Autobiography*: i. 231.

† Ib. ii. 195. ‡ Ib. ii. 243.

now see is the case. . . . look on and wonder and give thanks; and I wish many of those dear, excellent people whom we know and love could have their minds disabused of their prejudice against the Catholic faith, which is really the old Apostolic faith. Now, don't think I am 'going over.' There is no fear of that." *

Yet she did go over. At the age of eighty-three she was baptized by one of those priests she had been taught to mistrust and dislike. She learned to assist at Holy Mass in devout rapture,† to delight in the Rosary.‡ She lived to the age of eighty-nine, and retained her faculties fully to the end. At the Jubilee of Leo XIII. in January 1888, she was presented to the Sovereign Pontiff. The next day she wrote a long letter to her director. "A serene happiness," she says, "almost joy, filled my whole being as I at once found myself on my knees before the Vicar of Christ. My wish was to kiss his foot, but it was withdrawn and his hand given me. You may think with what fervour I kissed the ring. In the meantime he had been told my age and my late conversion. His hands were laid on my shoulders and again and again his right hand in blessing on my head, whilst he spoke to me of Paradise. All this time I did not know whether I was in the body or not. I knew afterwards that I felt unspeakably happy; and with a sense of unwillingness to leave. How long it lasted—perhaps a minute or so—I know not; but I certainly was lifted into a high spiritual state of bliss, such as I never had experience of before, and which now fills me with astonishment and deep thankfulness to recall. I woke in the stillness of last night with the

* Ib. 305. † Ib. p. 327. ‡ Ib. p. 332.

sense of it upon me. It is wonderful. I hope I may never lose it."* A few days afterwards she received most devoutly the last sacraments, and so passed away.

Such was the end of one to whom it was given to outlive prejudice and to come to the fruition of the Truth. May all my readers experience that loving Priestcraft!

* Ib. p. 355.

Thoughts for the Sick Room.

CONFIDENCE IN GOD.

MOTIVES.

The first motive of our Hope is the Divine Mercy; God is called, and truly He is, the Father of Mercies.—2 *Cor.*, i., 3.

He declares that He does not will the death of a sinner.—*Ezech.*, xviii.

One act of true penance is sufficient to blot out numberless sins. The publican had scarcely uttered his cry for pardon, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and he was justified. The prodigal son, as soon as he returned to his father, was received by him. David said, "I have sinned," and the prophet answered him, "The Lord hath also taken away thy sin.—2 *Kings*, xii., 13.

The second motive of our Hope is the Passion of Jesus Christ, who declares that He came upon

earth to save sinners; "I am not come to call the just, but sinners."—*St. Matt.*, ix., 13; and again, "Him that cometh to Me, I will not cast out."—*St. John*, vi., 37. He calls Himself the Good Shepherd, who goes in search of the lost sheep, and when He finds it He rejoices more for that than for the ninety-nine sheep that went not astray.—*St. Matt.*, xviii., 13. If then we have a good will, we must not fear that our good Lord will condemn us, who, to save us, did not hesitate to condemn Himself to the death of the Cross.

The third motive of our Hope is the Divine Promises. The Holy Gospels are full of promises of grace to those who ask for it: "Ask, and you shall receive."—*St. John*, xvi., 24. "Amen, amen, I say to you, if you ask the Father anything in My Name, He will give it you."—*ib.* "Every one that asketh, receiveth."—*St. Matt.*, vii., 8—that is, sinners, as well as just, provided they desire to give up their sins. "The Lord is good to them that hope in Him, to the soul that seeketh Him."—*Lament.*, iii., 25.

The fourth motive of our Hope is the Intercession of the Saints, and especially of the Mother of God, whom He wills us to invoke with the whole Catholic Church as "our Life and our Hope." "Refuge of sinners, pray for us." Hail Holy Queen, Mother of Mercy, our Life, our Sweetness, and our Hope.

AFFECTIONS.

The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? Into Thy hands I commend my spirit Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.

O my God, trusting in Thy promises, I hope from Thy mercy, not through my own merits but through the merits of Jesus Christ, for the pardon of my sins, perseverance in Thy grace, and after this miserable life, the glory of Paradise. And should the devil at death tempt me to despair at the sight of my sins, I protest that I will always hope in Thee, O Lord, and that I desire to die in the loving arms of Thy goodness.

O my God, worthy of infinite love, I love Thee with my whole heart, more than I love myself, and I protest that I desire to die making an act of love, that I may thus continue to love Thee eternally in heaven, which for this end I desire and ask of Thee.

And if hitherto, O Lord, instead of loving Thee, I have despised Thy infinite goodness, I repent of it with all my heart, and I protest that I wish to die, always weeping over and detesting the offences I have committed against Thee. I purpose for the future rather to die than ever to sin again, and for the love of Thee, I pardon all who have offended me.

O my God, I accept of death, and of all the sufferings which will accompany it; I unite it with

the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, and offer it in acknowledgment of Thy supreme dominion, and in satisfaction for my sins. Do Thou, O Lord, accept of this sacrifice which I make of my life, for the love of that great Sacrifice which Thy Divine Son made of Himself upon the altar of the Cross. I resign myself entirely to Thy Divine Will, and as if I were now on my death-bed, I protest that I wish to die, saying, *O Lord, may Thy Will be always done.*

Most Holy Virgin, my Advocate, and my Mother Mary, you are and will always be, after God, my hope and my consolation at the hour of death. From this moment I have recourse to you, and beg of you to assist me in that last passage.

My Protector St. Joseph, St. Michael the Archangel, my Angel Guardian, my Holy Patrons, do you all assist me in that last struggle with Hell.

And Thou, my Crucified Love, Thou my Jesus, who wert pleased to choose for Thyself so bitter a death to obtain for me a good death, remember at that hour that I am one of those dear sheep Thou didst purchase with Thy Blood. Do Thou, who—when all the world shall have forsaken me, and when not one shall be able to assist me—canst alone console and save me, make me worthy then to receive Thee for the last time in the Holy Communion, and suffer me not to lose Thee for ever,

and to be banished for ever from Thee. No, my beloved Saviour, receive me then into Thy Sacred Wounds; with my last breath I intend to breathe forth my soul into the loving Wound of Thy Sacred Heart, saying now, for that moment, "Jesus and Mary, I give you my heart and my soul'

O happy suffering, to suffer for God! happy death, to die in the Lord!

I embrace Thee now, my good Redeemer, that I may die in Thy embraces. If, O my soul, Mary assists you at your departure, and Jesus receives your last breath, it will not be death, but a sweet repose.

MOTIVES AND AFFECTIONS OF LOVE.

O my God, who art Infinite Goodness, I love Thee above all things. I love Thee more than myself. I love Thee with my whole heart. My God, I am not worthy to love Thee, because I have so greatly sinned against Thee ; but for the love of Jesus do Thou make me worthy.

O would that all men loved Thee!

My sweetest Jesus, I desire to suffer and to die for Thee, who wert pleased to suffer and to die for me.

O Lord, punish me as Thou wilt, but deprive me not of the grace of loving Thee. Save me, O my God ; to love Thee is my salvation.

I wish for Heaven, that there I may love Thee with all my strength and for all eternity.

O my God, cast me not into Hell as I deserve : there I could not love Thee. Grant that I may love Thee, and then do with me as Thou wilt.

I desire to suffer as much as it pleaseth Thee ; I desire to die in order to please Thee.

Bind me to Thyself, O my Jesus, and suffer me not to be separated from Thee.

O my God, grant that I may belong wholly to Thee before I die.

When will it be that I may say to Thee, O my God, I can never lose Thee more?

O my God, I wish to love Thee as much as Thou deservest to be loved.

O Mary, draw me entirely to God.

Mother of God, pray to Jesus for me, and obtain for me the grace to love Him with my whole heart.

My Mother, I love thee exceedingly, and I desire Heaven, that there I may love thee for all eternity.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, assist me in my last agony.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, may I breathe out my soul in peace with you.

PREPARATION FOR DEATH.

O my God, prostrate in Thy presence, I adore Thee, and I intend to make the following protestation, as if I were on the point of passing out of this life into eternity.

My Lord, because Thou art the Infallible Truth, and hast revealed it to the Holy Church, I believe in the mystery of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; three Persons, but only one God; who for all eternity rewards the just in Heaven, and punishes the wicked in Hell. I believe that the Second Person—that is, the Son

of God—became Man, and died for the salvation of mankind; and I believe all that the Holy Church believes. I thank Thee for having made me a Christian, and I protest that I will live and die in this Holy Faith.

We therefore pray Thee, help Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed by Thy Precious Blood.

In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; I shall not be confounded for ever.

O good Jesus, hide me in Thy wounds.

Suffer me not to be separated from Thee.

Thy wounds are my merits.

My Jesus, Thou wilt not deny me pardon, who didst not refuse to give Thy Life and Thy Blood for me.

Passion of Jesus, Merits of Jesus, Wounds of Jesus, Death of Jesus—behold my hope.

Mary, my Mother, have pity upon me.

Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for me a sinner.

We fly to thy protection, O Holy Mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and Blessed Virgin.

St. Michael Archangel, pray for us.

St. Joseph, pray for us.

O all ye Holy Angels and Saints of God, pray for me.

MOTIVES AND AFFECTIONS OF CONTRITION.

"Be not without fear about sin forgiven."—*Eccli.*, v., 5.

St. Augustine says that no one should omit to weep for his sins even to the last moment of his life.

Enter not into judgment with Thy servants, O Lord. My Jesus, and my Judge, spare me before Thou comest to judgment.

A contrite and humble heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise. O my God, would that I had never offended Thee.

My Lord, Thou didst not deserve the treatment I have shown Thee. My Father, I am not worthy to be called Thy child. I have left Thee, I have despised Thy grace, I have lost Thee through my own fault: I repent with my whole heart: spare me, O my God, for the sake of the Love and the Blood of Jesus Christ.

O accursed sins which have deprived me of my God! I hate and detest them from the bottom of my heart.

O my God, what harm hast Thou done me, that I should have so greatly offended Thee? Have pity upon me, for the sake of Jesus, Thy Son.

Never again, O my God, will I offend Thee: be the remainder of my life long or short, I wish to love Thee always.

I offer Thee, in satisfaction for all my sins, my death and all the sufferings I may have to bear.

O Lord, I am justly punished by Thee, for I have exceedingly offended Thee, but I beseech Thee to punish me in this life and not in the next.

O Mary, obtain for me true sorrow for my sins, the forgiveness of them, and the grace of final perseverance.

SHORT INDULGENCED PRAYERS.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, earth is full of Thy Glory. Glory be to the Father, Glory be to the Son, Glory be to the Holy Ghost.

100 *days once a day.*

Blessed be God.

Blessed be His Holy Name.

Blessed be Jesus Christ, true God and true man.

Blessed be the Name of Jesus.

Blessed be Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

Blessed be the great Mother of God, Mary Most Holy.

Blessed be her Holy and Immaculate Conception.

Blessed be the Name of Mary, Virgin and Mother.

Blessed be God in His Angels and in His Saints.

One year as often as it is said.

Eternal Father! I offer Thee the Precious Blood of Jesus, in satisfaction for my sins, and for the wants of the Holy Church.

100 *days each time.*

Blessed and praised every moment
Be the most holy and most divine Sacrament.

100 *days once a day.*

My Jesus, mercy.

100 *days as often as it is said.*

O sweetest Jesus, be not to me a Judge, but a Saviour.

50 *days as often as it is said.*

Jesus, my God, I love Thee above all things.

50 *days as often as it is said.*

O Angel of God, whom God hath appointed to be my guardian, enlighten and protect, direct and govern me.

100 *days each time.*

O most merciful Jesus, Lover of souls; I pray Thee by the agony of Thy most Sacred Heart, and by the sorrows of Thy Immaculate Mother, cleanse in Thine own Blood the sinners of the whole world who are now in their agony, and are to die this day. Amen.

Heart of Jesus, once in agony, pity the dying.

100 *days each time.*

Blessed be the Holy and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

100 *days each time.*

May the most just, most high, most adorable will of God be in all things done and praised, and magnified for ever.

100 *days once a day.*

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, assist me in my last agony.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, may I breathe out my soul in peace with you.

300 *days each time for the three ejaculations.*

100 *days each time for one of them.*

Remember, O most loving Virgin Mary, that never was it known that any one who fled to thy protection, implored thy help, or sought thy intercession, was left unaided. Inspired with this confidence, I fly unto thee, O Virgin of virgins, my Mother; to thee I come, before thee I stand weeping and sorrowful. O Mother of the Word made flesh, despise not my petitions, but mercifully hear and answer me. Amen.

300 *days as often as it is said.*

SHORT PRAYERS AND ASPIRATIONS.

I believe in Thee, my God, who art the very Truth itself.

I hope in Thy boundless Mercy.

I love Thy Infinite Goodness.

In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped. I shall not be confounded for ever.

May I die, O Lord, for the love of Thee, who wast pleased to die for the love of me.

Suffer me not, O my God, to be separated from Thee. Thee only do I desire. O Infinite Goodness, I love Thee, I love Thee, I love Thee.

My Jesus, Thou art about to judge me. Spare and pardon, before Thou judgest me. I love Thee, and because I love Thee I am sorry that I have offended Thee.

My sweetest Jesus, suffer me not to be separated from Thee.

Blood of Jesus, wash me. Passion of Jesus, save me. Into Thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.

I desire to die, O Lord, in order to see Thee. Mary, Mother of God, pray to Jesus for me. Turn thine eyes of mercy towards us, and after this our exile show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

O Mary, now is the time to help thy servant.

My Mother, forsake me not.

O Paradise, O beautiful country, O country of love, when shall I see thee?

My God, when shall I behold Thee face to face?

When, O my Jesus, shall I be secure of never losing Thee again? My God, and my All.

I willingly give up all in order to gain Thee, my God.

O my God, for the love of Jesus have mercy on me. Send me, O Lord, to Purgatory for as long as Thou pleasest, but do not send me to hell, where I cannot love Thee.

O Eternal God, I hope and desire to love Thee for ever in heaven. My love is crucified. Jesus, my love, died for me.

O Eternal Father, for the love of Jesus Christ, give me Thy grace. I love Thee. I am sorry for having offended Thee.

How can I thank Thee, O my God, for all the blessings Thou hast bestowed upon me?

I hope to thank Thee for all eternity in heaven.

Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy pray for me.

Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.

My Jesus, I commend to Thee my soul, which Thou hast redeemed by Thy Precious Blood.

Lord Jesus, receive my soul.

My God, help me, allow me to come and love Thee for all eternity in heaven.

Jesus, my love, I love Thee. I am sorry for having offended Thee.

O Mary, my hope, help me, pray to Jesus for me

By Thy Passion, O Jesus, save me.

My Mother Mary, help me in this hour. St. Joseph, assist me. St. Michael the Archangel, defend me. My Angel Guardian, protect me. My Patron Saint, N., commend me to Jesus Christ.

All ye Saints of God, intercede for me.

Jesus, Jesus, Jesus.

Jesus and Mary, I give you my heart and my soul.

DOES THE POPE CLAIM TO BE GOD?

BY THE

REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

ON October 23rd, 1895, the Bishop of Worcester delivered a Visitation Address at Leamington. Its theme was the recent action taken by Lord Halifax and his friends, which led in some measure to the issue of the Pope's Letter to the English People. The Bishop blamed Lord Halifax for imagining that the Pope will ever be induced to recede from that doctrinal position which the Anglican Church has always found so objectionable, and, among other things, he asked if "the Deification of the Pope is less outrageous than it was," adding:—

> Side by side with the shameless worship of the Virgin in the Church of Rome is the Divine honour paid to the Pope. He has been adored upon the altar, solemnly proclaimed the Vicar of Christ. Ruler of the World, Lord of Lords, the Almighty Vice-general of God, God upon earth, our Lord God. The Pope's official organ has asserted, that "when he thinks it is God that thinks in him, and he is to Christians all that Jesus Christ would be were He now upon earth." This blasphemous homage was not reproved by Pius IX.; it has never been condemned by Leo XIII. *

With this passage we propose to deal. It might, indeed, be urged that charges so preposterous refute themselves, and are best left alone. But it must be remembered, on the other side, that the charge in question is credited and industriously propagated, not merely by

* See the *Leamington County Chronicle*, October 26, 1895.

the class of writers who may appropriately be denominated the *demi-monde* of the Protestant party,* but even by its *élite*. The Visitation Address of the Bishop of Worcester is valuable as being one illustration of this, an illustration to which others might be added without difficulty. And if this consideration is not deemed sufficient to justify the present tract, we may appeal also to the intellectual pleasure that one may find in tracing the source and evolution of these curious misconceptions, which dominate minds otherwise intelligent and fair.

When a public personage makes serious charges against an institution like the Catholic Church, he is bound in honour to support them, if challenged, by satisfactory proofs; and this the Bishop of Worcester was invited to do by a lay Catholic who had taken to heart the passage above quoted. The result was a correspondence in which the Bishop very kindly supplied the proofs on which he had relied, and the correspondence has been placed in our hands; the gentleman mentioned being anxious to hear what could be said on the Catholic side. We should have liked to transcribe the Bishop's two letters, and to make them the basis of this tract, but he sanctions their publication only on

* In illustration of the mode in which the charge is propagated by the less responsible class of Protestant controversialists we may cite from a leaflet of the Drummond Tract Depôt, entitled *The Pope claims to be God:* "The Pope has, in the most unequivocal manner, claimed to be God. In the Canon Law the Pope is called God. Again, he is called 'Lord and God.' He has sought to support his claim to this great title by great deeds. Whatever God does, the Pope professes to do also. Does God require that to Him 'every knee shall bow?' So, too, the Pope; he requires to be worshipped with prostration and kissing. . . . Does God sit between the cherubim, and receive the homage of His people in His sanctuary? The Pope, seated on the high altar of St. Peter's, while incense is burned before him, and the knee is bent to him, is invoked as 'the Lord our God. Romanists are accustomed to call the altar the throne of God, inasmuch as thereon they place the host. The use the Pope finds for it on these occasions is the not very dignified one of a footstool. 'He, as God, sitteth in the temple of God showing himself that he is God.'—From Dr. Wylie's *The Papacy is the Antichrist.*"

What is said in the text will sufficiently reply to these absurdities.

condition that the entire correspondence is published, and to devote three or four pages to the publication of such a correspondence would occupy much space without any commensurate advantage. The Bishop, however, cannot, and we are sure will not, object to our saying that he relies mainly on a Pastoral Letter of the Old-Catholic Bishop Reinkens, and on certain passages from the writings of the canonists, which are well known as having been frequently appealed to for this purpose. Indeed, this much, by any one acquainted with the literature of the subject, can be unhesitatingly inferred from the Bishop's published words. We may also be permitted to say that another Anglican dignitary, much esteemed by members of the Evangelical party as a "master in the Romish controversy," in response to an application from the same Catholic gentleman, laid stress on the same class of arguments. We shall be doing justice, therefore, to the requirements of the case, if we keep in view the passage from Bishop Reinkens, and the usually cited passages from the ancient canonists.

The passage from Bishop Reinkens is found in his *Second Pastoral Letter*, published towards the close of 1873, just after the appearance of the Encyclical *Etsi multa luctuosa*. Pius IX., in that Encyclical which is his famous protest against the persecution of the Church in Germany, had made special mention of the Old-Catholic schism, and had excommunicated *nominatim* its unlawfully chosen and consecrated prelate, describing him as having entered, "not by the door, but otherwise, like a thief and a robber." The *Second Pastoral Letter* is Dr. Reinkens' reply, and is a violent diatribe against the Holy See. An English version of it has been published by the Anglo-Continental Society, but that we have not been able to obtain. We translate, therefore, from the German original the passage which charges Pius IX. with permitting, and even encouraging, the deification of his person:

One more thing I must mention. Pius IX. says without reservation that the Bishop of the Old Catholics "calls down upon his head the curse of Jesus Christ ["In suum ipse caput Christi damnationem convertit" are Pius IX's words,] as a thief and a robber, be-

cause he does not enter through the door but by another way." This is an allusion to St. John x. 1—18. There Jesus Christ points Himself out as the Door, and also as the Good Shepherd. The Apostle Paul was, as he testifies in Galatians i. and ii., admitted to the Apostleship through Jesus, not through Peter, and yet it has not hitherto entered into the head of any man to maintain that Paul was "as a thief and robber." But Pius IX. unreservedly sets his own person in the place of the person of Jesus Christ, and preaches himself to the people as "the door." That was the "idol" of the Vatican against which the dying Montalembert warned us. Why has the Vatican never answered the charges of Dupanloup and Gratry, that deification of the Pope remains unpunished? Has the Pope never heard that the Oratorian Faber has written a book on *Devotion to the Pope*, as "that without which no one can be saved, since it is an indispensable condition of Christian sanctity?" Has he never heard the mendacious utterances of the religious fanatics in England and France, lauded as they have been by the so-called Church clergy, which extol him, the Pope, as the third *Incarnation of the Godhead?* Did he not even hear during the Vatican Council, how a Bishop in Rome itself preached this idolatrous doctrine to the people from the pulpit? Is not Pius IX. aware how those fanatics, those "pious priests" and "regular clergy" preach and write that the Pope can say, "I am the Holy Ghost," "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," "I am the Eucharist?" Has he never learnt how, in the noble hymn for None, they have substituted "Pius" for "Deus," or how he has been addressed, in the words of the Hymn to the Holy Ghost, as "Father of the Poor and Bestower of Grace?" Has not Dupanloup demonstrated this publicly and with citation of documents in his *Warning to Louis Veuillot* of November 21, 1869? Has not the Pope's official organ, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, proclaimed him to be the possessor of the *charismata*, and maintained that "when he thinks it is God who thinks in Him," that "he is to Christians all that Jesus Christ would have been to them if He had remained on earth?" Yet when has Pius IX., like Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, torn his garments at such idolatrous language, casting himself at the feet of the people with the cry of "Sirs, what do ye? I also am like yourselves a mortal man?" (Acts xiv.) Or when has Pius IX. risen up to punish this idolatrous worship of his person?

Here is indeed a terrible indictment against the occupants of the Holy See. And the reasoning sounds so conclusive. Whilst all this abominable deification of the Pope's person is flowing from the unhallowed tongues and pens of his fervent adherents, why has neither Pius IX., nor—as Bishop Perowne, adopting Dr. Reinkens' language, adds—Leo XIII., taken a

single step to suppress it? Must not silence under such circumstances be construed as encouragement?

Perhaps it must, or rather might, if the circumstances were really such. But the feeling of most Catholics on reading for the first time the passage above quoted will be a feeling of intense surprise. "We have never met with any Catholics," they will exclaim, "who used such atrocious language;" and they will ask for the evidence of its use. If they then examine Dr. Reinkens' language more closely, they will discover that this is just what he fails to give. He refers indeed to the *Civiltà Cattolica*, though without giving a reference, for two statements which, as we shall see presently, are perfectly harmless. He refers also to the warnings of the dying Montalembert, and to reproaches addressed to Pius IX. by Gratry and Dupanloup. But again precise references are wanting, and if we search the writings of these three distinguished, but somewhat prejudiced writers, we shall not be able to find that any one of them invited the Pope to punish the kind of language to which Dr. Reinkens calls attention. Montalembert spoke of the "idol of the Vatican," or rather of the "idol which they [the *Univers* and the *Civiltà*] have erected for themselves at the Vatican." It does not follow that his censure was just, but in any case he was referring to what he was pleased to call Papal and Imperial absolutism, not to any deification of the Pope, an abuse the existence of which he does not seem to suspect. Gratry, likewise, if his first letter is meant, has no word about deification of the Pope, but is only anxious that Mgr. Dechamps, the prelate whom he is addressing, should ask the Pope to reprimand the use of spurious historical documents in defence of Papal claims. And again, it does not follow, nor is it admitted, that Gratry's charges against Catholic historians are justified by the facts. Dupanloup, in his notorious *Avertissement* addressed to Louis Veuillot, the editor of the *Univers* (November 21, 1869), does incidentally refer to certain expressions used of the Pope in that journal (mostly by its correspondents, not its contributors), which he condemns as unbecoming

when used of a mortal man. But he does not attribute to the authors of these expressions any desire really and literally to ascribe to the Pope Divine attributes, any more than he suggests to the Pope that he should visit them with punishment. His complaint is that the *Univers* has itself run into extravagances of language, and has by so doing encouraged its correspondents to still further extravagances. And he laments that in calling attention to these extravagances he may, "whilst the world is clothing the virtues of Pius IX. with so much love and respect," "seem to be blaming or fearing a movement of fervour which he would wish to see more universal still."

Foremost among the extravagances of language imputed to correspondents of the *Univers*, are the applications to the Pope of two well-known hymns, or rather of small portions of them, on which Dr. Reinkens is so severe. To these we shall refer lower down. For the present the only point in connection with Dupanloup's *Avertissement*, together with Montalembert's and Gratry's letters, to which we need to call attention, is that they lend absolutely no support to the graver charges in Dr. Reinkens' Pastoral Letter. There is not a word in them to show that any school of Catholics ever proposed to speak of the Pope as a "Third Incarnation of the Deity," or to allow him to say, "I am the Holy Ghost;" or, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" or, "I am the Eucharist." For the truth of these grave accusations against "religious fanatics in England and France," "pious priests" and "regular clergy," and against "bishops preaching in Rome itself," we are expected to trust Dr. Reinkens' bare assertion, just as if his career were that of one who had given to the Catholic world exceptional gages of candour and impartiality.

We must not, however, blame Dr. Reinkens too much. If he does not give us references in support of his grave charges, doubtless it was because there were none to give. On the other hand, he has at least allowed us an insight into the equitable method by which his charges have been manufactured. He accuses Pius IX. of

"preaching himself to the people as 'The Door." Had he introduced this charge in the bare way in which he has introduced the others, it might have sounded hardly less scandalous than they. A reader might have thought to himself: "It is true our Lord says to Christians, 'Ye are the light of the world.' But surely no Christian man should dare to stand up and say, 'I am the Light of the World; nor, therefore, should any Pope venture to say, 'I am the Door.'" As it is, this difficulty will not be felt by any careful reader of Dr. Reinkens' Pastoral, for he will be able to see for himself that the Pope merely censured as having "entered not by the door" one who had sought and obtained admission into the episcopate by a method alien to that which our Lord, the true "Door," had prescribed; and that the rest is merely Dr. Reinkens' inference from this reasonable censure, an inference of the value of which we are competent judges. With such an illustration to aid him the reader will be prone to conjecture that the other charges are in like manner bold inferences from premisses in themselves harmless enough. This hypothesis will at once account for the assertion that the Pope is considered able to say, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." Nor, though there the process is not at first sight so palpable, is it less able to account for the suggestion that he is considered able to say, "I am the Third Incarnation," "I am the Eucharist," "I am the Holy Ghost."

Especially as here again Dr. Reinkens' kindness affords us assistance. "The Oratorian Faber," he says, "has written a book on *Devotion to the Pope*, as that without which no one can be saved, since it is an indispensable condition of all Christian sanctity." To the suggestion contained in this sentence we cannot but take the same exception as to all the rest. In view of the context in which he places it, it is clear our calumniator means to suggest that under the name of "Devotion" Father Faber recommends a downright Divine worship of the Pope. But by indicating a book which we can inspect for ourselves, he is good enough to render this particular charge perfectly innocuous.

For what are the facts? Father Faber, in the essay mentioned, starts from the feeling, so natural to all who love our Blessed Lord, that it would have been such a help and comfort to live in Palestine when He was living there, enjoying His companionship just as the Apostles enjoyed it, ministering to His earthly wants as they ministered, and governed by His personal rule as they were governed. He then points out how largely our Lord has made provision for the reasonable satisfaction of this very desire. In the Blessed Sacrament we have His companionship really and truly, and in a sense even more fully than His first followers had it. Still, this Presence is invisible, and so far fails to give a complete satisfaction to the desire mentioned. Our Lord has therefore gone further, and has devised a means of perpetuating His visible Presence in our fellow-men whom in his various ways He has appointed to represent Him, so that in them we may minister to Him, or through them we may receive the blessings of His rule over us. Thus we have three modes in which His Presence is continued in our midst, a Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, a Presence in the Poor and in the Children, and a presence in the rulers of the Church, chief among whom is the Pope.

What teaching could be simpler and less open to objection than this, what further removed from the suspicion of blasphemy? The first mode of Presence is accepted by every Catholic and by many others; and by Dr. Reinkens, one would have imagined, among them. The second and the third mode have been directly affirmed by our Lord, who said, "*I* was naked and you clothed *Me*," &c., "forasmuch as you have done it to the least of these little ones you have done it to *Me*;" "He that heareth you, heareth *Me*;" Lo, *I* am *with* you all days, even to the consummation of the world." These last two texts may not apply exclusively to the Pope, but they certainly apply to him inclusively, and, without any tendency to deify him, every Catholic believes that they apply to him in a special and supereminent way. Doubtless the kind of Presence in the second and third case is specifically

different from that in the first. In the Holy Eucharist we have a real, true, and substantial Presence. In the Poor and the Children, and in the Pope, we have a representative presence only. Still, our Lord Himself taught us to call this last kind a Presence, and we cannot be wrong in following His example.

Father Faber is thus sufficiently vindicated, but we are also now able to understand on what grounds the "religious fanatics of England and France" are held to teach a "Third Incarnation of the Godhead" in the Pope, for Father Faber is evidently the English "fanatic" meant. Obviously what has happened is this. Father Faber speaks of our Lord's representative resence in the Pope as His third mode of Presence * in our midst, and on this basis Dr. Reinkens has constructed for himself the following syllogism: "The Incarnation is a visible Presence of Christ in our midst. The Papacy, according to Faber, is a third visible mode of Christ's Presence in our midst. Therefore the Papacy, according to Faber and others, is a 'Third Incarnation of the Godhead.'" The syllogism suffers from what logicians would call an Undistributed Middle, but Dr. Reinkens, having freed himself from the trammels of Papal authority, could hardly have been expected to fetter himself with the trammels of logic. Why, however, did he not carry his reasoning process a step further, and convict Faber of teaching also a Second Incarnation in the Poor and the Children? Possibly because he had not the same grudge against the Poor and the Children as he had against the Papacy.

But how about the Pope being able, according to these English and French fanatics, to say, "I am the Holy Eucharist"? It is but another application of the same bold method: The Holy Eucharist, according to Catholics, is a mode of Divine Presence, and the Papacy, according to Faber, is a mode of Divine

* "The Sovereign Pontiff is a third visible Presence of Christ amongst us of a higher order, of a deeper significance, of a more immediate importance, of a more exacting nature, than His Presence in the Poor and the Children."

Presence. Therefore the Papacy is the Eucharist (or a Third Eucharist). Here, too, it is interesting to observe that Dr. Reinkens has disciples in his peculiar school of logic. A correspondent of the *Church Review* (W. G. B.) for the 3rd of October, 1895, wrote to say that "the Patriarch of Venice is reported to have taught from his Cathedral pulpit the transubstantiation of the person of the Pope into the Person of the Eternal Son of God," the writer very truly characterizing such a doctrine as "the most horrible blasphemy, unmatched in the history of the Christian Church."

On being asked by Father Septimus Andrews to justify this allegation, W. G. B. at length responded as follows:*

> The *Catholique National*, for July 13th, quotes the following words recently uttered by the Archbishop of Venice. "The Pope is not only the representative of Jesus Christ, but he is *Jesus Christ Himself hidden under the veil of flesh.* Does the Pope speak? It is Jesus Christ who speaks. Does the Pope accord a favour or pronounce an anathema? It is Jesus Christ who pronounces the anathema or accords the favour. So that when the Pope speaks, we have *no business to examine—we have only to obey.* We have no right to criticize his decisions or discuss his commands. Therefore every one who would wear the crown ought to submit himself to Divine Right."

W. G. B. does not state where the *Catholique National* is published, or whether it is a journal whose report in a case like this can be accepted as unprejudiced. The name, however, is sufficient evidence of its character. "National Catholic" is, in the eyes of all *bona fide* Catholics, a contradiction in terms, and it is clear that we have to do with some organ of the Döllingerite party. As, on inquiry, we have ascertained that it is not published in France, probably it hails from Switzerland, or, in other words, is an organ of Bishop Reinkens's adherents. Such a paper would naturally not mind doctoring the Patriarch's language just as Dr. Reinkens himself, as we have seen, has doctored the language of Faber and others, and this is

* *Church Review*, November 14th.

in fact what has happened. Fr. Septimus Andrews sent to the *Tablet* of January 18, 1896, the copy of a letter received from Don Marino, a Venetian priest, who sought and obtained from the Patriarch himself a correct account of what he said. The letter is as follows:

Rev. F. S. Andrews.—A lady who lives with the . . . family here in Venice, came to me and interested me about a misrepresentation of a sermon made by the Patriarch of Venice in his own Cathedral.

I went to the Patriarch to know the truth. He flatly denies the words and the interpretation attributed to him by the *Catholique National* and the *Church Review*. Nay, he wrote me a letter, which I faithfully translate for you.

"Dear Don Marino—I have read all the homilies I have made since my coming here in Venice, and only in the sermon for the anniversary of the election of the Holy Father, I said these exact words: 'The Pope represents Jesus Christ Himself, and therefore is a loving Father. The life of the Pope is a holocaust of love for the human family. His word is love. Love, his weapons; love, the answer he gives to all those who hate him; love, his flag —*i.e.*, the Cross, which signed the greatest triumph on earth and in heaven. . . ., &c.

"A father of the Company of Jesus also wrote me, interesting me to state the very words I have read refuting the Protestant newspapers, and I could not but give him the answer I give you, whilst I sign myself with esteem and affection,

"Yours obligedly and affectionately in Jesus Christ,

"✠ JOSEPH, CARDINAL SARTO, Patriarch."

This is the faithful translation of the letter. As you see, there is nothing, absolutely nothing, of the "transubstantiation of the Pope into the Person of the Eternal Son of God," as the *Church Review* says. Please forgive my bad English, and with best regards,

I remain, yours sincerely,

MARINO TOMMATES.

Venice, Jan. 10, 1896.

Perhaps, even after this signal refutation of a very outrageous charge it is too much to hope that the accusation will cease to be repeated. It can hardly be repeated indeed of the Patriarch of Venice, but it is quite possible to travesty in like manner the words of other Catholic writers. When however, this is done we need not concern ourselves again with a direct refutation, for we shall be safe in assuming that we

have only to deal with another application of the same fraudulent method.

Dr. Reinkens has also assured us that Catholics allow the Pope to say, "I am the Holy Ghost," but, initiated as we now are into his methods, we see at once that this is merely his inference from such a statement as he quotes from the *Civiltà Cattolica*. According to the *Civiltà Cattolica*, he tells us (not giving the reference, although in this case we can dispense with it): "When the Pope thinks it is God who thinks in him," and he is "the possessor of the *charismata*." God, here, means evidently God the Holy Spirit, and so, Dr. Reinkens reasons, "if the Pope's thought is the Holy Spirit's thought, the Pope must be the Holy Spirit, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, having laid down the premisses, must in consistency be credited with this conclusion, outrageous though it is." But how comes Dr. Reinkens to be so unversed in the language of his Bible? When our Lord assured His Apostles that although brought before kings and princes they need have no fear, because "it would be given them in that hour what to speak, and *it would not be they* who spoke but the Spirit of their Father who spoke in them," * was He saying less of the Apostles than the *Civiltà Cattolica* has said of him who succeeds to the Apostolic office? And yet Dr. Reinkens will hardly persuade a reasonable man that our Lord in using such language was announcing a literal conversion of the persons of the Apostles into the Person of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the phrase "the Spirit thinks or speaks in him," though so rich in meaning, is a phrase so common in the mouths of Christians that it seems simply absurd to have to defend it against misconstruction. We recognize this indwelling and aiding on the the part of the Holy Spirit as accorded to the individual Christian as well as to the Pope, although the measure of the gift accorded to the Pope is greater, and its kind is proportioned to the ampler requirements of his office. But neither in the case of the individual nor of the Pope is it supposed that the influences imparted

* St. Matt. x. 19, 20.

take always, or usually, the form of downright inspiration. "Assistance" is the term employed by the Vatican definition.

All that now remains of Dr. Reinkens' accusation is in the suggestion already alluded to, that "pious priests" and "regular clergy" have been allowed to sing as addressed to Pius IX., instead of God, the two well-known hymns, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and *Rerum Deus tenax vigor*, the word *Deus* in the latter being merely changed into *Pius*. One might imagine from Dr. Reinkens' sentence * that the entire hymns were sung habitually as an address to the Pope, and unquestionably there is much in both hymns which if addressed to any other than God would be most blasphemous. But on referring to Dupanloup's *Avertissement*, we find that only one verse out of each is thus employed, each on a single occasion, each too with such alterations as the adaptation requires.† We may perhaps question the good taste of the journalist who admitted even this much into his columns, but there is a wide difference between a fault of taste and a sin of blasphemy, and no reasonable person could fix blame on the Pope for a fault of taste committed by the editor of a journal in another country.

Bishop Perowne in the passage of his Address on which this article is founded, has asked "if the deifica-

* *Vide supra* p. 4.

† 1. Reum *Pius* tenax vigor
Immotus in te permanens
Da verba vitæ, quæ regant
Agnos, oves, et sæculum.

2. *To Pius IX., Pontiff-King.*

Pater Pauperum
Dator Munerum
Emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium.

The second stanza is from a chaplain in the name of some orphans. The last two lines are what seem to Mgr. Dupanloup, and we think rightly, most objectionable of all. Still they hardly exceed the extravagance of the Dedication to James I. prefixed to the Anglican Bible.

tion of the Pope is less outrageous than it was." He assumes it as demonstrated beyond question that in former times the Pope's adherents were wont unblushingly to deify him, and only finds it necessary to contend that the abominable practice is still retained. Now that we have seen on what grounds this contention rests, we may pass to inquire how far the previous assumption is justified. Are there or are there not solid reasons for asserting that the Pope was deified by our Catholic ancestors in former days?

The passages on which Dr. Perowne relies for his affirmative answer, are, as we learn alike from his private letter and his published words, certain well-known and oft-quoted passages from the legislation of the Church or the writings of her canonists. These, then, we must examine and it will be well to distinguish from the outset two distinct questions,—one, whether they involve a deliberate intention literally to deify the Pope; the other whether they do not at all events sin grossly against propriety of speech. Dr. Perowne apparently contends that they aim at literal deification, although one would have imagined such an hypothesis too outrageous to enter into a reasonable man's head. We shall, however, keep the second question primarily in view, because if we can show that even the proprieties of language have not been infringed, the graver charge will have been still more conclusively disproved.

Bishop Perowne arranges his deifying expressions so as to form an ascending scale. Let us strike first at his climax. He says we address the Pope as "Our Lord God the Pope," which certainly does not sound well. Bishop Perowne does not stand alone in asserting this. Mr. Charles Hastings Collette has mentioned it several times, although he does not so much matter. Dr. Joseph Parker asserted it a year or two since in a letter to the *Times*, and Archdeacon Taylor, of Liverpool, has stated it in his *Man of Sin*. A *catena*, too, of Anglican controversialists, from Bishop Jewel, Coke, and Abbot downwards, could be readily produced, all of whom have laid great stress on the point. As they give their readers to understand that this mode of address belongs

to the recognized Papal style, it is curious to discover that when asked for authorities, they are able to produce one, and one only. Jewel in his various works refers to the point some dozen times, but he has never any other authority to give save: "Extrav. Joannis XXII., ad calcem Sexti Decretalium, tit. xiv. gloss in cap. 4, sub finem." The Editors of the Parker Society have clearly searched in every direction to discover others in its support, but the three they give (which will all fall under notice) belong to quite a different order. Nowhere, either, can a Catholic writer be found who has made any appeal to this one passage as having authority. No one, indeed, seems to have been aware of its existence, until Jewel called attention to it in 1565, and the majority are not aware of it even now. As late as 1602, Father Parsons, in his *Warn Word*, replying to Sir Francis Hastings, who had urged the passage in his *Waste Word*, tells us he had not been able to find it. "If the canonists," he says, * "so roundly affirm it, why hath not Sir Francis, either roundly or squarely granted us the text? Sure it is that I cannot find it, much as I have sought and hard it is to be believed that any such text can be found."

However, it is to be found, and under the following circumstances. John XXII., in a decretal letter, condemned a doctrine which exaggerated to the point of heresy the counsel of Evangelical Poverty. This decretal is incorporated as Title xiv. into the *Extravagantes Joannis XXII.*, a collection of Papal Letters which finds place in the *Corpus Juris*. The collection is authoritative, but, like the rest of the *Corpus Juris*, it has bound up with it a valued though unauthoritative commentary, or gloss. The glosses to the *Corpus Juris* are from different canonists of repute, the gloss on the portion with which we are concerned having for its author a certain Zenzelinus. Zenzelinus, in the course of this comment on Title xiv., after discussing the Pope's meaning in the decretal, finishes by adding that it would be heretical to deny the Pope's power to make such a decree: *Credere Dominum* Deum *Nostrum*

* Encounter i. cap. 2. n. 19.

Papam . . . non posse statuere prout statuit hæreticum censeretur ("To deny that our Lord *God* the Pope has power to decree as he has decreed, would be deemed heretical"). Such is the passage, and no argument is necessary to make it clear that the word "God" is not required by the sense. The writer merely intimates that rejection of an infallible decree on a matter of faith would be heresy. But Papal infallibility does not involve divinity in the Pope himself; it only involves divinity in God by whose gift it is that the Pope is preserved from the error into which he might otherwise fall. It is manifest, therefore, that the word *Deus* has been introduced into the text by inadvertence. It is just the sort of copyist's error which is wont to occur, the two frequently recurring phrases, *Dominus Papa* and *Dominus Deus*, having through the similarity of sound got fused into one. And that this is the explanation is confirmed by what Eudæmon Joannes tells us in his *Apologia pro Henrico Garneto* (1609).*

Hearing that the manuscript of Zenzelinus was found, I thought it ought to be consulted in order that every possible doubt might be terminated. But in this manuscript, *Dominus Noster Papa* [without the *Deus*] is clearly and distinctly to be read, as any one who desires may see for himself, since the Vatican Library in which it is preserved is open to all on certain days of the week.

It is no answer to this to say that that the word is found in Gregory XIII.'s standard edition of the *Corpus Juris* (1582), and in some editions formed after its model, for it should be first shown that the correctors who brought out this edition intentionally, and not merely inadvertently, allowed the word to pass. Indeed, even if they allowed it intentionally (which is not probable), their action could be without dogmatical significance. When a blunder is obviously such, it can be left to take care of itself, no one being likely to be misled by it. We may then, so far as this particular charge goes, "thank God," with Eudæmon Joannes, "that adversaries so sagacious in their investigations, and so malignant in their calumnies, have not succeeded

* p. 139.

in finding anything more serious than the mishap of some-one of our printers, who added a word, which as it is so often joined to the words, *Dominus Noster*, could easily mislead him."*

Perhaps too we may remind our assailants of a correspondence in the papers (*Standard*, March 14, 1896) occasioned by the sale of Farmer Atkinson's copy of the "Wicked" Bible, a correspondence which supplies us with an effectual retort. The "Wicked" Bible is an edition, of the Anglican Authorized Version, printed in London in 1631, by Robert Barclay and the assignees of John Bill. It is so nick-named because in Exodus xx. 14 by an omission of the "not" the commandment is made to read "Thou shalt commit adultery." There are said to be four copies only of this edition still existing, one of which is in the British Museum Library.

Another edition of the same Authorized Version was printed by John Field, one of the Parliament printers, in 1653. This is generally known as the Pearl Bible, but it is likewise called the "Unrighteous" Bible. The nick-name is fully deserved, for typographical errors to the same effect in two distinct places create an appearance of consistency in perverting a holy into an unholy exhortation. In Romans vi. 13, we read: "Yield not your members as instruments of righteousness;" and in 1 Cor. vi. 9. we are asked: "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of heaven?"

Errata like these in parts of the Bible so frequently used could not long escape detection, and accordingly the volumes containing them, instead of being employed as copy in setting up the type for subsequent editions, have been preserved only as interesting curiosities. An erratum in an edition of an obscure passage in the *Corpus Juris*, was far more likely to escape notice, and so to be reproduced in a subsequent edition or two, and this is what has happened. But, as one reflects on the close parallelism between the two cases, one cannot but feel that if these Anglican errata

* *Ibid.* p. 141.

had, through inadvertence, been multiplied in one or two subsequent editions, the sort of charge which Dr. Perowne has permitted himself to make could be as effectively made against Protestantism, if only a Catholic could be found unfair enough to make it. What capital too could not an unprincipled controversialist make out of Isaac Disraeli's observation in his *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. p. 430—"It (the erratum in 1 Cor. vi. 9) served as the foundation of a dangerous doctrine, for many libertines urged the text from this corrupt Bible, against the reproofs of a divine"? Not, indeed, that this observation of Disraeli's is necessarily correct, but it is made, and for an unscrupulous controversialist with a large following behind him, that would be quite sufficient.

There is another famous passage from Gratian's *Decretum* on which anti-Papal controversialists from Jewel downwards lay great stress. The Bishop of Worcester's Address, whether intentionally or not, omits to mention it, but as it touches a point which lies at the root of so much else, it will be better not to pass it over.

It may be introduced, and with it other passages to which Dr. Perowne does refer, in a quotation from Jewel.*

> Certainly in this arrogant vanity scarcely any of all these (pagan sovereigns) was ever comparable to the Pope. Pope Nicolas saith: *Constat summum Pontificem a pio Principe . . . Deum appellatum* ("It is well-known that the Pope of the godly prince Constantine was called God"). † Likewise the Pope was well content to suffer one of his parasites to say unto him in the late Council of Lateran: *Tu es alter Deus in terris* ("Thou art another God on earth"). ‡ Likewise Cardillus the Spaniard, in defence of the Pope's late chapter at Trident, oftentimes calleth the Pope a *Terrenus Deus* ("an earthly God").

The first of these citations is that which we desire specially to examine, and it is worth notice that here at

* *Defence of Apology*, par v. chap. vi. div. 11, p, 583. Parker Society's Edition.

† *Gratiani Decretum*, dist, xcvi. can. 7.

‡ Labbe and Cossart's *Councils*, tom. xiv. p. 109.

least we have the authoritative words of an actual Pope. If, however, we cannot disclaim responsibility for them, neither do we need to do so. To begin with, Nicolas I. is not speaking of a Pope at all, but only of a Bishop of Constantinople. Jewel, with his usual fairness, has interpolated the word "*Summum*" before the word "*Pontificem*," thus changing "Bishop" into "Pope," and his controversial successors have faithfully followed him in his fraud, thereby revealing to us the amount of care they take to verify references. Nicolas was writing to the Emperor Michael III., to protest against the mode in which the Patriarch Ignatius had been deposed, namely, by an Imperial sentence. He protests against the illegality and nullity of such a sentence emanating from the civil power, and not inappropriately reminds the successor of Constantine of Constantine's own very different conduct in the Council of Nicæa. He says:

> It is shown with sufficient clearness that the secular power cannot bind or loose a bishop, when, as I have previously pointed out, the pious Prince Constantine is known to have said that he had been called God, whereas it is manifest that God cannot be judged by men.

Pope Nicolas has in view a passage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Rufinus,* according to which Constantine said to some Bishops who invited him to settle their quarrels:

> God has made you priests, and has given you power to judge of us (*al.* yourselves), and so we are rightly judged by you. But you cannot be judged by men. Await then the judgment of God Himself, and let the determination of all your disputes be reserved to that Divine scrutiny. For you are given to us by God as gods, and it is not becoming that God should be judged by men, but by Him only of whom it is written: "God stood in the assembly of the gods, in their midst He judges the gods."†

Whether or not Constantine really did use this language at Nicæa is a subject for historical criticism, but the authority of Rufinus is sufficient to justify Nicolas in his citation, and, if the name of "God" can in this applied sense be lawfully given to Bishops generally, and for the matter of that to earthly rulers

* Lib. i. chap. 2. † Psalm lxxxi. 1.

generally, still more can it be lawfully given to the highest earthly ruler of them all. We must remember also, that behind writers like Nicolas I., or Rufinus, or the unknown authors of the *Apostolic Constitutions** (for they also sanction the same usage), behind even the author of Psalm lxxxi., there is our Lord Himself. In St. John x. 34 we read: "Jesus answered them: Is it not written in your law, 'I said you are gods'? If he called them gods to whom the word of God was spoken, *and the Scripture cannot be broken.* Do you say of him whom the Father hath sent into the world: 'Thou blasphemest,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'?" There is a deep thought in these words of our Lord. Let some Protestant commentators expound it to us. Dr. Alford in his Commentary, † paraphrases thus the words: "the Scripture cannot be broken;" "You cannot explain this expression away. It cannot mean nothing, for it rests on the testimony of God's word."

What the expression does "mean" no English writer has indicated with greater or more delicate penetration than Bishop Westcott.‡ We may, however, on this occasion, have recourse by preference to another commentator whose exposition lends itself better to quotation, and is very relevant to our purpose. §

* Lib. ii. cc. 29—31. † *In loc.*

‡ *Speaker's Commentary* on St. John x. 35, 36.

§ Dr. Perowne's comment on Psalm lxxxii. (lxxxi.) did not come under our notice till this paper was in type, but it is too relevant to be wholly omitted, approving as it does of the ascription to an earthly king of some of the very titles which as ascribed to a spiritual ruler he now condemns as blasphemous. He says: "*They are called gods, not merely as having authority from God . . . but as His vicegerents.* . . . Even if in Exodus xxii. 28 [27], we render: 'Thou shalt not revile *God*, nor curse the ruler of the people,' rather than, 'Thou shalt not revile the judges,' &c., still it is implied that the ruler bears the image of God, and that *every insult to such a representative of God, is an insult against God.* . . . In Psalm viii. it is said: 'Thou hast made him a *little* lower than God.' . . . *This would hold especially of those high in office.* In Psalm xlv. 6, the *King is called God.* So, again, Moses uses the phrase: "When you come to *me* to inquire of *God.*" (Exodus xviii. 15.) The italics in this quotation are our own, and possibly Dr. Perowne may object that thus to isolate a few

"Unto whom the word of God came," *i.e.* the word of God declaring, "Ye are Gods," and pointing back to the time indicated by, "I said," when each one was set apart to be a representative of God, and therefore *had his authority to bear His name.* . . . But in these words there is a deeper meaning than the technical one. When we speak of men "representing" God, we are already in thought foreshadowing the central truth of the Incarnation. Priests who offered sacrifices for sins, and Kings who ruled God's people, and prophets who told forth God's will, were consecrated to their holy office because *there was the Divine in them which could be truly called God.**

If there was "the Divine" in the kings, priests, and prophets of the Old Testament, to whom was entrusted only the administration of the bare shadows of things to come, and if this "Divine" which was in them gave the right to be "truly called God," surely there is "the Divine" still more in the kings, priests, and prophets of the New Testament, to whom is entrusted the administration of the things to come themselves, the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, and this sublimer infusion of the Divine, can still more imperatively entitle them to be "truly called God." Thus after all, the wonder is not that the language used by Nicolas I. is used so often, but that it is used so seldom. And at least we do not need to be overmuch scandalized if, in an age when fulsome language was commoner than it is now, the Bishop of the Apostolic See, to whom, beyond all other earthly ministers of God, "the Divine," that is to say, the royalty, the priesthood, and the prophetical office of Jesus Christ, is communicated, should occasionally have been styled, *Terrenus Deus*, † ("An earthly God,") or, *Alter Deus in terris*‡ ("Another God upon earth,") or if it should be said of him, *Nec*

phrases from the context is misleading and unfair. To such an objection we have only to reply that this is just the sort of unfairness of which we complain in Dr. Perowne himself, except that it is much more misleading to separate words from their context altogether than to accentuate them by the use of italics.

* Archdeacon Watkins on John x. 34—36.

† Cardillus, *Disp. adv. Protest. Trig.* Ep. ded. ad Carol. Boromæum.

‡ Orat. Christ. Marcelli in Lateran 4. Labbe and Cossart's *Councils*, xiv. col. 109.

Deus es nec homo sed neuter es inter utrumque * ("Thou art neither God nor man, but something intermediate between the two").

With the remaining titles ascribed by canonists to the Pope which move Bishop Perowne to righteous indignation, we can now deal very briefly. "The Pope," he says, "is proclaimed Vicar of Christ, Ruler of the world, Lord of Lords, the almighty Vice-general of God." Let us take each title separately.

"Vicar of Christ." To be the vicar of another is to hold authority under him as his representative or delegate, and since all authority is from God, every holder of authority can be truly called God's Vicar. Hence the name has occasionally been given to kings, for instance, to St. Edward the Confessor. There was a time when it might have been given to Dr. Perowne himself, not indeed in view of his appointment to the Anglican bishopric of Worcester, but as the father of a family. If nowadays the name is reserved to the Pope, this is only by convention, just as the name "Pope" is restricted only by convention; but the convention is based on reason, for the character and measure of Divine authority entrusted by Jesus Christ to the successors of St. Peter transcends all that is entrusted to others.

"Ruler of the world." Comment here is hardly needed. The Pope, as such, has jurisdiction over the whole world. To call him therefore, the "ruler of the world," is but a simple description of the facts. The title does not, however, mean that he is ruler of the entire world in temporals.

"Lord of lords." Clearly he is this also, and may likewise, without departure from the manifest truth of facts, be called "king of kings," since he has spiritual authority over kings as well as others.†

"Omnipotent Vice-general of God." Here we

* Procem. in Clement. Glossa in voc. *Papa*.

† Dr. Perowne may not admit that our Lord established a Papacy, but he cannot surely go so far as to say our Lord *could not*, without infringing on His own Divine attributes, set one Bishop over all others and give him universal jurisdiction.

should certainly have liked a reference; still, we can do without it. "Vice-general" should evidently be "Vicar General," and the allusion is to the idea expressed by the old law maxim, *Deus et Papa faciunt unum consistorium*—"God and the Pope make one tribunal." A Vicar General is one appointed by a Bishop to aid him in the government of the diocese, who for that purpose holds and exercises under the Bishop (substantially) all the episcopal jurisdiction. His court is thence reputed the Bishop's own court, with the result that there is no appeal (except by way of special exception) from him to the Bishop, as to a higher court. It is in reference to this point of analogy that the canonists say, "God and the Pope make one tribunal." They mean merely that the Pope's tribunal is as it were our Lord's own tribunal (on earth), being held in His name by one who holds the amplest powers of jurisdiction, and being one from which by His appointment no appeal is permitted to any higher court on earth. Our Lord could, of course, interfere miraculously if He chose, but, as a rule, He does not choose. The adjective "omnipotent" possibly has been interpolated, just as we have seen the word *summum* before *Pontificem* interpolated in the quotation from Nicolas I. Still, it may be admissible in the sense of declaring that the powers entrusted by God to the Pope are, within the department of what He has left open for positive law and precept, without limit—"*Whatsoever* thou shalt loose on earth."

This explanation is similarly applicable to a whole class of expressions used by the canonists, at which Protestant writers most unaccountably take scandal. Thus the Pope is called *causa causarum* ("cause of all causes"), *omnia et super omnia* ("all and over all"), only in the sense in which a King is called a "sovereign," that is, "supreme" ruler. All meant is that the Pope is the highest authority in the Catholic Church, and is as such endowed with the plenitude of the power entrusted by our Lord to His Church, the subordinate rulers holding their powers under him. In other words, the Pope is not said to be the First Cause absolutely,

but the first cause among the visible causes, or rulers of the Catholic Church. And in this same way he is not over all things whatever, but over all other members of the Catholic Church. *

Here we must not omit to notice a set of expressions which, though he does not mention them in his public Address, Bishop Perowne may be assumed to have had in mind, and which are, at all events, constantly being cited. It is said that, according to our canonists, the Pope can "change the nature of things;" "make things out of nothing;" and even "change unrighteousness into righteousness." At such assertions the Protestant holds up his hands in pious horror, and exclaims, "Why, this transcends even the attributes of God Himself." The source whence these expressions are derived is the gloss on Decretal I. Tit. vii. cap. 3, attached to the words *veri dei vicem*. It is as follows:

Hence he (the Pope) is said to have a heavenly power (*cœleste arbitrium*)—C. de summ. Trin. l. 1. *in fi.;* and hence he changes even the nature of things, applying the substantials of one thing to another—Arg. C. *communia de le.* l. 2; and can make something out of nothing—C. *de rei uxor. act.* l. unica. in prim et de consecr. dist. 2 *revera;* and a judgment which is null he makes to be real [*quæ nulla est facit aliquam*]—3. q. 6. *hæc quippe;* since in the things which he wills his will is taken for a reason—Institu de jure natur. *sed quod principi;* nor is there any one to say to him, 'Why dost thou this'—De pœn. dist. 3. § *ex persona alias est* c. *quamvis;* for he can dispense with the law— de concess. præb. c. *proposuit;* he can also turn injustice into justice by correcting and changing the law—j. de appell. c. *ut debitus,* and j. de consang. et affin. c. *non debet;* and he has the fulness of power—2. q. 6. c. *decreto.*

* Has Dr. Perowne ever read King James I.'s Apology for the Oath of Allegiance? There he will read (*Triplici Nodo triplex Cuneus*, p. 284. edit. 1619), that Kings "are called the Sons of God, nay Gods themselves, the Lord's Anointed (*Christi Domini*), sitting on God's throne, His Servants, Angels of God." Elsewhere (*Premonition to all Christian Monarchs*, &c.) the King says: "We (Kings) whom God hath placed on the highest thrones upon earth, made His *Lieutenants* and *Vicegerents*, and even *seated upon His own throne* to execute *His* judgments." How easy it would be, if one could adopt Bishop Perowne's procedure, to bring against English sovereigns the very indictment which he brings against the Pope. Even to this day the successors of King James have "not formally refused or condemned these blasphemous titles."

We have transcribed this gloss in full—translating its statements, but leaving its citations of authorities in Latin—in order to let the reader judge what probability there is that the Protestant writers who have recourse to such unfamiliar fields for their charges against the Catholic Church have understood what they read; if indeed they ever do consult the sources for themselves, and do not rather copy at first, second, and perhaps tenth hand from preceding controversialists. At all events, it must be deemed a great pity that whoever among them led the series by going himself to the source, did not perceive the marginal annotation added in 1582 by Gregory XIII.'s Correctors. It might have enlightened him, for it runs as follows:

> In this gloss (*i.e.*, the gloss on this passage) the explanations are almost all in figurative language (*verbis improprriis*), but properly understood they state what is true. For to make something out of nothing is to make a new law; and as for (changing) injustice into justice, understand that this also is by conferring a right (*per constitutionem juris*); and changing the substance of things is (likewise) to be understood in reference to matters of positive law; and it is in this sense that the laws cited speak.

In other words, the entities which the Pope draws out of non-existence into existence are not physical but legal entities, which he can "create" out of nothing without possessing Divine power; and he turns unrighteousness into righteousness when, by creating or taking away previous legal rights, he makes it lawful to disregard claims which previously could not have been disregarded without injustice.

The final clause of this annotation is specially noteworthy. In proof that it is truly expressing the mind of the person who wrote the gloss, it appeals to the character of the authorities cited by the gloss, and of these four are from the Code of Justinian. In other words, the expresssions so absurdly misused by the adversaries of the Catholic Church were originally used of the Emperor, not the Pope, and are borrowed by the Canon Law from the Civil Law, as being applicable to every sovereign ruler as such, and therefore to the Pope inclusively.

There is still another point on which the Bishop of Worcester insists in his Visitation Address, and as this is also a point which Protestant controversialists consider very effective, we must give it due attention. He says the Pope "has been adored on the altar," which certainly sounds very bad, and we naturally ask how. Another Anglican dignitary, whose book we have already cited, will explain. Archdeacon Taylor, of Liverpool, in his *Man of Sin*, writes thus:

> The Pope of Rome is actually taken and placed on the altar whereon the body, blood, soul, and divinity of Christ rest, and there sitting upon the altar, and therefore above "that which is called God," the Pope receives the adoration of the Cardinals. Mark the accuracy of the Scripture language (2 Thess. ii. 4): "He exalteth himself above all that which is called God." "*Called* God;" the host is not God, but it is *called* God. Hence the following quotation: "After the Pope's election, the Cardinals one by one adore his Holiness upon their knees, kiss his foot and his right hand, before the altar of the chapel in the conclave. The same day, about two hours before night, the Pope is carried and set down on the altar in Sextus's chapel, and then the Cardinals in their purple capes come, and a second time adore the new Pontiff, who is seated on the relics on the altar-stone. Then the Cardinals descend with music before them into the middle of St. Peter's Church: the Pope follows, carried in a Pontifical chair under a canopy embellished with gold; his bearers set him down on the great altar of St. Peter's, when the Cardinals pay their adoration to him the third time, kissing the foot.*

The reference given for this quotation is merely "Picard, a Roman Catholic authority," but its vagueness does not matter, as the book is known, and the account given of the facts correct. What then about their significance? It is hard to have to destroy the beautiful symmetry which Archdeacon Taylor has discovered between prophecy and fulfilment, but unfortunately neither in the Sistine chapel, nor in St. Peter's, is the Blessed Sacrament on the altar when the Pope is placed there, so that our critic must search elsewhere for "that which is called God." As for the rest of the ceremony, those who are scandalized by it seem to have forgotten Lord Bacon's *dictum* that "words are the fool's coins, but the wise man's

* p. 18.

counters." A ceremony like being enthroned on the altar, and a word like "adoration," have that significance, and that only, which is attached to them by the community of men who employ them. Enthronization on the altar might perhaps *in itself* bear the construction which Bishop Perowne and Archdeacon Taylor put upon it, but it may also signify merely assumption by the Pope of his office as Vicar of Christ, and obviously it is understood in this last-mentioned sense by the Pope and the Cardinals, and with them by the entire Catholic Church, and all reasonable people. As for the word "adoration," it is strange that Protestants have not even yet learned the lesson which the use of the word "worship" in their own marriage-service has been teaching them now for more than three centuries, the lesson that an ancient signification of a word can persist in some particular ceremony, or department of usage, for centuries after it has become obsolete in common parlance. "Adoration," in the common parlance of the present day, means that specific kind of veneration which is the homage due from man to God alone. "Adoration" of old was a far more generic term; it meant simply veneration without restriction to any particular species. It is this sense which persists in the ceremony of homage to the newly-elected Pope, as well as in the touching veneration of the Cross on Good Friday.

We have now dealt with all the expressions which Bishop Perowne enumerates in his Visitation Address of last October, and with all the authorities on which he has, or can have, relied. We have not sought to explain any one of them away by putting upon it a construction out of harmony with the context and circumstances of its usage. On the contrary, we have simply in each case called attention to context and circumstances, and it is these which have made it evident beyond doubt that the forced and unnatural construction of the expression cited is Dr. Perowne's, the plain and natural construction the one in favour of which we have argued. This does not necessarily mean that Dr. Perowne has intentionally done violence

to the requirements of context. What it probably means is that he has placed trust in previous writers who do not deserve trust, and, resting on their authority, has not thought it necessary to examine for himself into their procedure. Now, however, that we have been enabled to set the full facts before him, he is surely bound in honour to recede openly from a position which he must see is no longer tenable. Ought he not also to rejoice in finding that he has been misled? He was led to speak of the alleged deification of the Pope by the present interest taken in the question of Reunion. His point was, that as long as we hold such doctrines it was impossible for any *rapprochement* between us and those who think with him. Of course this is not the only point, real or imaginary, which divides us. But even if it is one, surely he should be glad, not sorry, to discover that it is non-existent.

This paper appeared originally as an article in the *Month* for January, 1896, and a copy was in due course sent to Bishop Perowne, in the confident expectation that when made aware of the true state of the facts, he would feel himself bound in honour to withdraw a charge against the Catholic Church so odious in its character. Unfortunately this expectation has not been fulfilled. The only answer which the Bishop condescended to make—in a letter to the gentleman whose correspondence with him has been mentioned above—was that, if Catholics meant nothing more than was stated in the article, it was strange that they should use such misleading language. It does not occur to the Bishop that whatever may seem misleading or worse in the language imputed to Catholic writers is due not to the Catholic writers themselves, but to the unfairness of adversaries like Jewel, Reinkens, and himself, who have not hesitated to caricature the language of Catholic writers by tearing it away from its context, by giving as its equivalents versions which are nothing better than parodies of its meaning, and even by representing palpable misprints as intended statements.

Nine of our Martyrs,*

Recently Beatified.

BY THE

REV. J. G. DOLAN, O.S.B.

BLESSED ADRIAN FORTESCUE.

Sir Adrian Fortescue, Knight of St. John, and Martyr for the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, was born about 1476. His father, Sir John Fortescue, was a man of considerable wealth and influence and a

* The addition of nine names to the long list of the martyrs of the English persecution entitled by the supreme judgement of the Holy See to the honours due to the Blessed, makes it a duty on our part to venerate their memory, and imitate their virtues, and more especially their constancy in the Catholic Faith. The following brief memoirs have been drawn up from the best available sources. In the life of Blessed Adrian Fortescue free use has been made of two papers published in the *Month* of June and July, 1887 by the late Father John Morris, S.J., and based upon the researches of Lord Claremont in his "Family of Fortescue." For a fuller account of the Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester, the reader is referred to Dom Gasquet's monograph on "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury," recently published; while for Lord Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the notices of his career in Lingard have been supplemented by reference to some contemporary details of his life and martyrdom. The martyrs recently beatified have been treated of in the chronological order of their sufferings and death.

great favourite at court. Esquire of the Body to Edward IV. he was successively Sheriff of Herts and Essex, and subsequently Master Porter of Calais. He was a man of arms besides. In 1471 he beseiged St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which the Earl of Oxford was defending against the King; and, later on, when Henry, Earl of Richmond, was asserting his claims to the throne, Sir John Fortescue, making common cause with his old rival the Earl of Oxford, threw himself energetically into the contest on his behalf, and fought by his side at the decisive battle of Bosworth Field (1485). Sir John, enriched by the bounty of the new King, Henry VII., and promoted to the post of Chief Butler of England, died at his seat of Punsborne, July 28, 1500. His wife, who survived him, was Alice, daughter of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London. Thus, through his mother, the future martyr was closely connected with that fateful Anne, whose charms and intrigues were a few years later to bring such troubles on England, schism, persecution, and to not a few the crowning glory of martyrdom.

Of Sir Adrian Fortescue's early life we can learn but little. He married Anne Stonor, daughter of Sir William Stonor, of Stonor, near Henley-on-Thames, and by a matrimonial alliance between Sir Adrian's sister Mary, and John Stonor, the two families were still more closely knit together. Through his wife Sir Adrian became master of Stonor Park, described by the traveller, Leland, as "a fair park and a warren of conies and fair woods. The mansion house standeth climbing on a hill and hath two courts builded with timber, brick, and flint." The ancient chapel, built in 1349, is still standing, and by a rare privilege shared with those of East Hendred and Slindon, has never been desecrated by heretical use. Besides its associations with the martyr Sir Adrian, Stonor has other memories which still further enhance its attractiveness to the Catholics of England, for it was throughout the persecutions a safe retreat for the clergy, and in the thick woods which encompassed the house the

blessed Jesuit martyr, Edmund Campion, set up the printing press which gave to the world the famous *Decem Rationes*, the "Ten Reasons" why Englishmen should cease to be Protestants and should rejoin the Catholic Church.

Stonor was the ordinary residence of Sir Adrian during his earlier married life. His father's death, in 1500, left him heir to a goodly fortune, which was shared with his elder brother, John; his wife's estates added to his importance, and from the public duties which he was called upon to perform we may be certain that he was a man of no small importance. Thus we find him one of the Royal Commissioners for Oxfordshire to levy aids on the marriage of Prince Arthur with Katharine of Arragon (1501); he filled a similar post two years later, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester; and, in 1511, his name appears first on the list of the newly appointed Justices of the Peace for the shire of Oxford. Thus the years passed by, the future martyr sanctifying his soul in peace and preparing it for future graces by the careful fulfilment of all the duties which fell to him as a large landed proprietor and country gentleman. But his whole life was not to be passed in the quiet ease of an English squire. In 1513, the summons of his sovereign came to him bidding him provide "fifty archers and fifty bills" for the royal service in the expedition which the young King Henry VIII. was preparing against France. Sir Adrian's troop was shipped either at Dover or Sandwich in the "Mawdelen of Pole"—that is the good ship Magdalen of Poole, a vessel of 120 tons—and landed at Calais on June 21, 1513. For nearly four months Sir Adrian bore his part with the King's army in that campaign which witnessed the Emperor Maximilian serving under our English King, and which was famous for the siege and destruction of Terouenne and the battle of the Spurs. After the great tournament at Tournay, Sir Adrian returned to Calais, on October 19, and was soon once more in England. We next hear of him at court as one among the two hundred and fifty noblemen in attendance on the

King at the royal banquet at Greenwich, on July 7, 1517; he was evidently rising in the royal favour.

By the death of his wife in the following year the first of his troubles came to Sir Adrian. He loved her dearly, and spared no expense in providing nobly for her funeral, not forgetting, good Christian as he was, to have many masses offered for her soul, and to secure the prayers of Christ's poor by a most abundant distribution of alms. His wife's remains were first of all laid to rest at Pyrton church, near Shirburn; seven years later they were removed to the Priory of the Austin Canons at Bisham, on the Thames, and on the suppression of that house, in 1538, were taken to their final resting place at Brightwell church, Oxfordshire, where they were laid beside the high altar. Nor did Sir Adrian, who loved dearly the beauty of God's house, forget his father's sepulchre; for in his memory he enriched the church of Bishop's Hatfield, where he lay buried, with curtains, vestments, forms, cruets and altar linen, and "a great tabernacle for the altar, bought at Calais in the war time."

Once more we find Sir Adrian in attendance on the court, for he was bidden to accompany Queen Katherine to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where Henry of England and Francis I. of France, and their respective courts, vied with one another in the splendour of their display and the magnificence of their entertainments. On this occasion our future martyr was absent from England from about the middle of May till the end of July (1520); nor does he seem to have left his home on foreign service during the next two years.

In the course of 1522, he spent about twenty-one weeks abroad on sea and land under the Lord Admiral, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. The first duty of the expedition was to see the Emperor safe across the Bay of Biscay; less praiseworthy was the sacking and burning of Morlaix, in Brittany, and the villages between that place and the coast, which was our martyr's next experience. Nor was this an end of the business, for sixteen or seventeen French vessels, which had taken

refuge in the haven, were burnt by the English before they withdrew from the neighbourhood. The troops are next heard of in Picardy, under the Earl of Surrey, and here too was much raiding and booty. It seems probable that Sir Adrian was with them during the whole of the campaign and returned with the troops to Dover on the 16th of October.

The following year found him once more in France. Landing at Calais with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Aug. 24, 1523), he took part in the capture of the Castle of Bel and the town of Bray. Montdidier surrendered to the victorious arms of the English on October 27, but with that success their good luck deserted them. An early and trying winter, first a rainy season and then a bitter and prolonged frost came to try their endurance; food ran short, and the poor soldiers, unprovided for such a hardship as this, suffered intensely, many losing toes and fingers from frost bite. Glad indeed must the worthy knight have been to see the last of soldiering; henceforth he seems to have lived quietly at home, preparing for the evil days which were so soon to dawn upon England.

Though it was a proverb of Sir Adrian's that "an old man is daft that marries a young woman," we find him, in 1530, once more engaging in holy wedlock. He was now at least fifty years of age, his second wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Reed, of Boarstell, Bucks, a lady of twenty. With his usual goodness Sir Adrian acted like a father to his new wife's family, sending young Austin Reed, her brother, to Winchester school, and heaping presents on her sisters, who seem to have spent most of their time under his hospitable roof. By the second Lady Fortescue he had a considerable family; John, his eldest son became in time a Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth; two other sons, Thomas and Anthony, and two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, came to brighten his declining years.

With this same year, 1530, he came once more into contact with the court, and at a perilous juncture. For his cousin Anne Boleyn had been proclaimed wife and

Queen of Henry VIII., and Sir Adrian was summoned to attend her majesty at the coronation banquet. We know not what his inmost feelings must have been, though outwardly, like nearly all the kingdom, he seemingly acquiesced in the scandalous proceedings which made Anne Boleyn's coronation possible. We may however find a clue to his real opinions by the next recorded event in his history. It seems, as though foreseeing troubles coming, he resolved to fortify his soul so as to be ready against the evil day. Accordingly he was received, in 1532, among the knights of St. John, or of Malta, as they were beginning to be called; for, having been driven from Rhodes in 1522, they had, in 1530, been made masters of the island of Malta by the Emperor. At the time of Sir Adrian's reception into the order as a "Knight of Devotion,"—for his married state prevented him becoming a "Knight of Justice" like his fellow martyr, Sir Thomas Dingley,—Sir William West was Lord Prior of St. John in England. Thus strengthened by a community of interest with a noble body of men, the bulwark of Christendom against its foreign foes, Sir Adrian was fitting himself for a right knightly ending when God's time was come. And not content with this, we find him in the following year (1533) seeking and obtaining the privileges of confraternity with the Black Friars of St. Dominic at Oxford.

Outwardly, however, things went on much as usual, and Sir Adrian lived among his neighbours like any ordinary country gentleman. About this time the the property of Stonor passed from his hands, and henceforth his principal residence was at Shirburn, not many miles distant. Thither he removed his kennel in 1534; there he spent the early part of Lent, for which, as his diary shows, he had laid in an ample stock of "Lent stuff," only leaving home towards Passion week to conclude the purchase of the manors of Bradeston and Lasborow, near Tetbury, in Gloucestershire. Returning from this business to Shirburn, he found Swallow, the King's messenger, awaiting him, and summoning him to London, probably to take the oath required by parlia-

ment, and to swear to the new succession bill which had been lately passed. This was but a minor matter; worse was in store.

He had occasion to visit London on his own affairs some two or three times this summer (1534). In some way or other his opposition to the way things were going must have become known at court, for after his return home from the Oxford Assizes, he found himself a prisoner: "Memorandum," he writes calmly in his diary, "Here I was committed to the Knight Marshall's ward at Woodstock." The day of his arrest was August 29, the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist. Under charge of Vaughan, groom of the King's chamber, he was led away to Woodstock and thence to Thame, and back again to Woodstock. Being prisoner he was not allowed to attend the parish churches on his way, but managed to have Mass said at the inns where he was lodged. From Oxfordshire he was taken to London, and lodged in the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, under charge of Sir Thomas Wentworth, the under-marshall (September 1). A month later his wife joined him in his captivity, and some of his servants were allowed to wait upon him. Here his religious instincts prompted him to buy some holy pictures, to give his rooms a more Christian look, and a holy water pot and sprinkler. His devoted wife was not idle; in his behalf, she made frequent expeditions to the court at Greenwich, and apparently not in vain, for some time in the early spring of 1535, Sir Adrian was released. The troubles of the faithful were now to begin in earnest. On the 4th of May, Blessed Richard Reynolds, the Monk of Syon, the three Carthusian Priors, and Blessed John Hales, were martyred at Tyburn; and, in the following month, Cardinal John Fisher and soon after him Sir Thomas More won their heavenly crowns. The wheat was beginning to be separated from the chaff; and now Sir Adrian's time to choose finally has come. Though the former record of the charges brought against him have been lost, there is no doubt that the question of the

Royal Supremacy was the touchstone of his faith. A proof of his loyalty to the Vicar of Christ is afforded by his missal, wherein had been inserted the form of "bidding prayer" to be used in all the churches of the realm. Through the words "I commend to your devout prayers the King's most excellent majesty, supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same church" Sir Adrian has drawn his pen. For him the Vicar of Christ, St. Peter's successor, and no other, was the only ruler of the Church whom his faith would allow him to recognize.

For a time he was left in peace, and seems to have anticipated no further troubles; for, in 1538, at the sack of Abingdon Abbey, he purchased for himself a fair marble tomb, which he evidently intended should some day give shelter to his own remains. But his hopes of a quiet old age, if he ever entertained any, were soon to be rudely shaken, for the following year (1539) was to see him once more a prisoner.

At the beginning of February he was arrested a second time, and on the 14th of the month was committed close prisoner to the Tower. "Within these three days," writes Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle to his servant John Husea (February 17), "Sir Adrian Fortescue has been committed to the Tower and shall lose his head;" all men guessed aright what would be the ending. His houses and goods in Oxfordshire and London were searched and an inventory made of all that was found there, though no trial had yet been held nor sentence passed against him. Nor was he ever to have the benefit of a trial, even by the corrupt tribunals of those days wherein no law was recognized save the will of Henry. At the end of April began that Parliament at whose door must be laid the guilt of his bloodshedding. A bill of attainder—a detestable instrument of tyranny, rankest product of those dark times, was brought in against him. The indictment included the Blessed Margaret of Salisbury, first cousin to the King's mother; her son, Reginald, Cardinal Pole; Gertrude, widow of the late Marquess of Exeter, one of

Henry's victims, Sir Adrian Fortescue and his brother knight, Sir Thomas Dingley, and a few others besides. Sir Adrian was charged with sedition, and as having been confederate with Sir Thomas Dingley and Robert Granceter, merchant, in soliciting foreign princes to wage war against the King. The bill was introduced on May 10th, and was read twice that day; its third reading was on the 11th, and thus without examination and trial, without opportunity of explanation, defence, or denial, the lives of the victims were willed away by the vote of the servile parliament. The charge was a frivolous one and could not be supported; the real offence of Sir Adrian being his refusal to acknowledge the royal supremacy. He was beheaded, along with the Ven. Sir Thomas Dingley, on Tower Hill, on July 9, 1539.

The news of the death of the blessed martyr soon spread abroad, and the example of his heroic end was everywhere set before his brethren, the Knights of St. John. Two paintings representing him with the martyr's palm, adorn the great Church of the Knights at Valetta, in Malta; a third may be seen in the College of St. Paul at Rabato; a fourth was formerly to be seen at Madrid. These ancient paintings, proof of the veneration with which he was regarded by his contemporaries, were mainly influential in procuring him a place among the English martyrs whose names have recently been added to those of the Blessed by the Holy See. "Obey well the good kirk and thou shalt fare the better," was a favourite saying of the holy man's. He obeyed, and though but a few months imprisonment and a cruel death was his fate here on earth, yet he indeed "fared better," having been found worthy to give the last and greatest proof of his love by laying down his life for his Lord.

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BLESSED RICHARD WHITING,

Abbot of Glastonbury, and his three Companions.

No sanctuary in Great Britain was held in deeper veneration than the abbey of Our Lady at Glastonbury. A legend whose origin is lost in remote antiquity tells us how St. Joseph of Arimathea found his last resting place at Avalon, the green isle of apples, set in a broad inlet of the Severn Sea; and how he left behind him there a band of brethren who assembled daily to worship the living God in the church of wattles, which he had raised under the invocation of the Virgin Mother of that Lord whose sepulchre he had provided. The place too had its traditions of other saints and other heroes; of St. Patrick who visited it, and restored it to something of its ancient order; of King Arthur, hero of the British race, who there lay buried with Guinevere his queen; of St. David, Archbishop of Menevia, who greatly loved this place; of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus, who visited the ancient shrine, for they were one in faith with the servants of God who there abode; of St. Dunstan, who became a second founder of the monastery; of its monk St. Sigfrid, who went forth from its cloisters as bishop to preach the faith in Sweden. By such memories as these was Glastonbury endeared to all who loved the faith of which it had so long been the home; and as sacred were the treasures of the church—the bodies and relics of the saints of northern and eastern England, which had been brought hither for safety's sake from afar when the pagan Danes were over-running the land. Grown old in the hearts of the people, no wonder that the wealth and influence of Glastonbury had waxed great with the long centuries which had passed since its foundation.

In the good providence of God, this ancient sanctuary, enriched by the faith and devotion of British and

English alike, was to give testimony in the person of its last abbot to the ancient faith which it had inherited from its early fathers. Bound up under so many racial and dynastic changes with the piety of successive generations, witness throughout so many and such varied phases of national life to the faith of England in the supremacy of the Vicar of Christ, and chiefest sanctuary of that national devotion to the Mother of God which won for England its title of our Lady's Dowry, the Benedictine abbey of Glastonbury was a fit training place for the heroic soul of Richard Whiting the last of its long line of abbots. The future martyr came of a family which had given many worthy monks and nuns to the cloisters of St. Benedict in the fair western country; Dom William Whiting, the recluse of Sherborne abbey; Dom Richard, chamberlain of St. Peter's abbey at Bath; Dame Jane Whiting, a nun at Wilton. His place of birth was probably in the vale of Wrington, where his family were tenants of some of the abbey lands; his schooling (there is no reason to doubt) he received at Glastonbury itself where many youths were brought up in learning and goodness by the monks. Having passed through his novitiate and made his solemn profession to live and die as a monk of St. Benedict, under the threefold vow of stability, conversion of life, and obedience, Brother Richard Whiting was sent for his more serious studies to the university of Cambridge. The Benedictines had a college at that place to which several of their young religious were sent, though the greater number of the monastic students went through their course at Oxford. The Cambridge house of studies still exists and now bears the name of the college of St. Mary Magdalen.

How long Richard Whiting remained at Cambridge we cannot precisely say; nor what influence his stay there had upon his future. At Cambridge it is not improbable that he made the acquaintance of Blessed Richard Reynolds, the Bridgettine, and the future Carthusian martyrs, John Houghton and William Exmew, who were studying at Cambridge about the time that

he was there. We only know that Dom Richard took his M.A. degree in 1483, and probably soon afterwards returned to his monastery in the west of England, to prepare himself for the reception of holy orders. In September, 1498, he was made acolyte, and in the succeeding years subdeacon and deacon, receiving the priesthood on the 6th of March, 1501, at the hands of Bishop Cornish in the chapel (now destroyed) of Our Lady in the eastern cloister of Wells Cathedral. Of his private life at Glastonbury we have no record, though we may conjecture that besides his own studies he was called upon to take a share in the work of teaching in the abbey schools. The monastery of Glastonbury stood high in public opinion at that period. Its abbot, Richard Bere, was a man of much renown, an upholder of regular discipline, a scholar and correspondent of Erasmus, the chosen ambassador of Henry VII., to the newly elected Pontiff, Pius VI., and a friend of Cardinal Wolsey. During his abbacy the King, Henry VII., was the guest of the Glastonbury monks, having come to the west of England to put down the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck. Under the rule of Abbot Bere, "a rare wise and discreet man, just and upright in all his ways, and for so accounted of almost all sorts of people," his successor may well have learnt those lessons in the art of government which he showed so conspicuously when his own turn came to preside over the fortunes of his abbey. Under this worthy prelate Richard Whiting lived for many years; leaving his abbey however for a time, for he returned to Cambridge to take his degree of Doctor of Theology in 1505.

In 1525 Abbot Bere died and the community having delegated the appointment of his successor to Cardinal Wolsey were well pleased when it became known to them that his choice had fallen on Dom Richard Whiting. The new abbot was not without experience in the art of government for he had held the office of Camerarius or Chamberlain; a post requiring much care and judgement; all the domestic affairs and the management of a large staff of servants were entrusted

to him. The community, at the time when he was called upon to rule it, consisted of nearly fifty monks in holy orders besides the younger religious and novices. The abbey buildings were extensive and well built; the church, probably the longest in England, bore traces of the successive adornment of generation after generation; the whole minster in fact was one of the noblest houses which the Benedictine Order anywhere possessed, and the worldly and ecclesiastical position of the abbot was unrivalled in the west of England. Yet in the midst of all the splendours which adorned his little court, the new abbot, old in years and trained to every monastic virtue, never lost the simplicity and love of holy poverty which became him as a monk. His almsgiving was on a princely scale; the poor were fed, hospitals for the sick and for pilgrims maintained; education provided for all who chose to send their sons to live beneath his roof. Nor was his care restricted to the maintenance of hospitality and the duties of the cloister. The abbey owned large estates in many counties; his jurisdiction in civil cases in the "twelve hides of Glaston"—the original endowment of the abbey—knew no superior, while his position as a lord of parliament added new and more public duties to those which properly belonged to his office.

In the quiet and dignified discharge of all that his state demanded, the grave old man, for age was already creeping upon him, spent the earlier years of his abbatial rule. His troubles began when the King's divorce case ended; for Henry, convinced as he had good cause to be that the divorce was viewed with horror by the majority of churchmen, determined on a visitation of all the religious houses, wherein lay the main strength of the party of opposition. Unscrupulous agents, many of them men lost to every sense of decency, were selected for this visitation. The destruction of the monasteries under the cloak of their visitation was plainly the end in view. But when the royal "visitors" came to Glastonbury they could find no fault at all; "the brethren," they re-

port "be so straight kept that they cannot offend; but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not with them." No better witness do we need than these words of unwilling praise of the good discipline observed by the monks of Glastonbury under the rule of Richard Whiting.

Nothing but confusion could come of a visitation held under such auspices; and accordingly it does not surprise us to find the abbot and some of his friends writing to Crumwell, the King's Vicar-General, for the abrogation or mitigation of certain statutes which had been imposed on a community which was quite competent to manage its own business without the interference of such creatures of the court as the King had sent to pry into their affairs. The lesser monasteries were meanwhile falling one by one beneath the tyrant's hand, and their lands and treasures of every sort going to increase the ill-got riches of the sovereign, or to satisfy the craving of those who were his agents in this nefarious traffic. When the King's mandate first went forth that all must subscribe to the article which declared him to be supreme head of the Church of England, the abbot of Glastonbury was among those who signed—probably, as events proved, interpreting the words to mean that the King was the head of the "Temporal" though not of the "Spiritual" Church; was lord and master, that is to say, of the lands and revenues which the royal bounty allowed for the maintenance of the Church, though in no way its master in spiritual matters. By no means could the abbot be induced to come finally into the King's wishes; unfortunately the abbey lands were too broad, its wealth too vast, the accumulated treasures of its church and sacristy too costly for so great a house to escape the grasp of Henry. A clause in the act relating to the suppression of monasteries spoke of such as should come to the King "by attainder or attainders of treason." How treason was to be compassed and Abbot Whiting brought to ruin was now the business of Vicar-General Crumwell. Those abbots who were

known to be faithful to the Pope, "Spies of the Pope" he called them, must somehow or other be got rid of. He soon began his threatenings; of the remaining monasteries, he writes, the King will suppress no more save such as resign and forsake the same, "or else misuse themselves contrary *to their allegiance;*" in which case they shall lose "more than their houses and possessions," that is shall, forfeit their lives as well. With the plunder of the lesser monasteries going on all over England, there was now no room to doubt that the fatal struggle was approaching. In September, Crumwell made his memoranda "for proceeding against the abbots of Reading, Glaston and the other, in their own countries" and soon enough the proceedings began. Commissioners were sent to Glastonbury to examine the abbot; failing apparently, to secure enough to commit him they sent the old man prisoner to the Tower that the Vicar-General might himself examine his victim. While the abbot lay in the Tower awaiting his trial, the agents of the crown were busy at the abbey; ransacking every hole and corner for the money and chalices which had been hidden away, enough "to have begun a new abbey," and raking up every chance word or act of the abbot's which could be construed into the "very high and rank treasons" with which they charged him. What this "treason" was, Hall, the contemporary London lawyer, lets us know; speaking of the attainder of the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester he tells us it was for "high treason for denying the King to be supreme head of the Church."

By the end of October the grand old abbey had been stripped of everything of value, and its monks dispersed; there only remained the final sentence. With that cynical disregard for justice which was characteristic of the reign, the King's right-hand man makes yet another significant entry in his memorandum book, "Item, the abbot of Glaston to be *tried* at Glaston and *also executed* there." Once more the oath of supremacy was pressed upon him, once more it was refused. His fate was already settled; the old man, weak and broken by sick-

ness and his captivity in the Tower, was taken back to Somerset, in ignorance, it seems, of the fate in store for him. The abbey over which he had ruled so worthily, that monastery "so great, goodly and so princely, that we have not seen the like," was now no more; its monks were scattered, its final ruin was close at hand. Abbot Whiting was accompanied by one of Crumwell's agents, Pollard by name; they reached Wells on November 14. There a jury well minded to serve the King had been got together, a great crowd was mustered to see the mock trial, which was to bring the aged abbot to the scaffold. Thrust among a crew of lewd ruffians, on trial for rape and burglary, and after a hurried trial, devoid of all form of law and justice, the saintly old man was condemned to death with two of his monks, John Thorne (Dom Arthur), the treasurer, and Roger James (Dom Wilfrid), the sub-treasurer of the church. On the following morning, November 15, the three condemned prisoners were carried to Glastonbury; on reaching the town they were made to dismount; the aged abbot nearly fourscore years of age, was laid on a hurdle and dragged past his dear abbey gates, and through the town which had owned him as its lord, to the summit of the steep hill, the Tor, which rose high above the surrounding country. There the abbot and his two brethren knelt in prayer, begging pardon of all whom they had offended, and then the hangman and the butcher did their work on these three blameless monks, who thus in the sight of men and angels won the martyr's crown.

The quarters of the blessed abbot's body were sent to Wells, Bath, Ilchester and Bridgwater; his head was set up over the great gateway of the monastery. And thus one bleak November day was heaven enriched by the three meek martyrs who on that day joined its blissful throngs; while the Church on earth was in mourning because the glorious minster of the Mother of God at Glastonbury was now no more.

BLESSED HUGH COOKE,

Abbot of Reading, and his two Companions.

Midway between Oxford and London there rose, where the Kennet meets the Thames, the great abbey of the Trinity, Our Lady, and St. James. Its founder was King Henry I., who so richly endowed the house, that in a very short time it took rank as one of the chief monasteries in the country. Many of its abbots achieved high honours in church and state: Hugh of Amiens became Archbishop of Rouen, Robert de Sigillo, Bishop of London, and William le Templier, Archbishop of Bordeaux. But more famous than all should be the name of the last of the line who died a glorious martyr for the faith of Christ. This holy man, Hugh Cooke by name, was born of a family which had its chief seat in Kent; from the circumstance of his being commonly known as Farringdon it may be conjectured that he was born at that place, for it was a custom among religious men in those days to be known by the name of their birth-place He was brought up in the abbey of Reading, and, owing in some measure it would seem to the interest taken in him by King Henry VIII., was appointed abbot in 1520. From friends and enemies alike we can gather something of the manner of man he was. As superior of a large community of Benedictine monks we find him ever earnest in promoting the spiritual welfare of his community by word and example; study, silence, and all the observances of a strict religious house were well attended to, and he exercised the same careful supervision over the dependent priory at Leominster. His care for the promotion of sacred studies is specially commended; the daily theological lecture delivered in the chapter house of his monastery was attended by the abbot himself, who would thus encourage all his subjects to a due love and esteem of learning. Nor

were the schools for the young neglected. In the grammar school attached to the abbey both Greek and Latin were taught; and many distinguished men placed their sons under his care to be fitted for the universities. In his zeal for learning he was always ready to befriend the learned, and we have proof of this in the writings of Leonard Cox, the intimate of Erasmus and Melancthon, and in certain letters wherein the university of Oxford acknowledges its indebtedness to his generosity. By the young King he was affectionately regarded, and Henry would call him his "own abbot," and often sought his company, so that in both court and hunting field he was often at the King's side.

The upright character and grave homeliness of the future martyr won him many other friends; Archbishop Warham, Stokesley, Bishop of London; Dr. Standish, the Franciscan; Lord Montacute, and the Marquess of Exeter, were among those whose society he best liked. No wonder, then, that we find that under his holy rule, the abbey of St. James at Reading well kept up its excellent reputation, and afforded a home to many who desired to give themselves to the service of Almighty God. Among these we must reckon Blessed John Rugg, who in a letter of his still extant, styles himself an "abbey-lover" who, resigned his prebend at Chichester Cathedral to retire to the cloisters of St. James'; Blessed John Eynon, some time Vicar of St. Giles' Church in Reading, who also retired to the monastery; and Dom John Holyman, a famous Oxford scholar and preacher, who like them put himself under Abbot Cooke's direction, and by his eloquence and zeal did much to stem the torrent of Lutheran innovation which was pouring in from Germany. In the reign of Queen Mary we find this last named monk raised to the episcopal dignity, and created first bishop of Bristol. Abbot Cooke's tenure of office was held in difficult days. He found himself obliged to resist the efforts of the heretical bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, who was a Lutheran at heart,

and wished to impose upon the monks, as professor of theology, a degraded priest of his own way of thinking. The abbot was firm, and thanks to the King's good-will, which even Crumwell the Vicar-General could not undermine, the bishop was unsuccessful, and D. Roger London, B.D., a monk of the house, was continued in his office. In fact "with the heretics and knaves of the new learning," the abbot had no sympathy; he often sent his monk, D. Holyman, to preach in London, at Paul's Cross, against the growing errors of the times; and above all he was always faithful to the Holy See. "He would pray for the Pope's Holiness as long as he lived" he used to say, "and would once a week say Mass for him, trusting that by such good prayers the Pope should rise again and have the King's highness with all the whole realm in subjection as he hath had in times past, and upon a *bon voyage* would call him pope as long as he lived." And when the whole state was called upon to acknowledge the supremacy, the abbot of Reading acknowledged but a supremacy over the temporal church but not over the spiritual.

The opinions of a man in so prominent a position as his could not remain unknown; though for a time no action was taken to force him to resign his abbey or to come into the King's measures. He was still in favour in 1536, when, like his brother abbots of Glastonbury and Colchester, he had sent aid to the King in his campaign against the northern insurgents. Next year his troubles began, a rumour had been spread that Henry was dead, and for merely telling some of his neighbours what was reported, the abbot incurred the censure of the King. As the persecution against the monks waxed more violent, and such severe measures were taken against them that they were practically kept prisoners in their monasteries, a trusty friend was found to act as messenger between the abbots and monks. This was a blind harper, William Moor by name, whom Henry had befriended. By him were letters and messages taken from house to house, and

doubtless it was he who found the means to despatch in safety to Rome the letters which the abbots forwarded to Pope and Cardinals.

It was not till 1539 that the final measures were taken to suppress the monastery and inflict the penalty of treason on its holy abbot. Like his brethren of Glastonbury and Colchester he was summoned to London and imprisoned for two months in the Tower, one of his monks, D. Roger London, sharing his captivity. His fate was probably decided in the capital, but he was sent down to Reading for a mock trial there, as a preliminary to his execution. Sentence having been passed upon him he was laid upon a hurdle and dragged through the streets of his own town, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, before the abbey gate. His two companions, Blessed John Rugg and John Eynon, of whom we have already spoken, were put to death at the same time, and as they partook of his sufferings on earth so now they share with him in the praise and glory with which the Church on earth honours their holy memory.

BLESSED THOMAS BECHE,

Abbot of Colchester.

This holy man, the third of the Benedictine abbots who were put to death by Henry VIII. for refusing to acknowledge his supremacy over the Church, had, like the majority of his brethren who were selected for a university course, been educated at Oxford, and in all probability at the college of St. Benedict, the largest of the three establishments which his order possessed in that city. Worcester College occupies the site, and to some extent the buildings, of the ancient common house of studies of the black monks. His name occurs in the

university records from 1509 to 1515, at which latter date he received his D.D. degree. Before his election to the abbacy of Colchester, in 1533, we know little of his life; though there is some reason for the conjecture that part of it was passed at Chester, as administrator of St. Werburgh's Abbey in that city during the temporary retirement of Abbot John Birchenshaw. Be this as it may we find him appointed abbot of St John's, at Colchester, in 1533, at a time when troubles of every sort were gathering over the Church, It was only by payment of a heavy fine to the King's use that he could obtain restitution of the temporalities of his monastery.

St. John the Baptist's at Colchester was a house of Norman origin founded by Eudo, steward of King Henry I., in 1097. The first monks for the new foundation were brought from the cathedral of Rochester, but as the arrangements made by the founder for their support were inadequate they soon returned to the mother house; and it was not until more suitable provision for the maintenance of a community had been made by Eudo that he obtained a colony of thirteen monks from St. Mary's Abbey, York. Their number was afterwards increased to twenty, and by the generous alms of the wealthy, the house was soon firmly established. The privilege of "sanctuary" was bestowed upon its church, which enjoyed besides all the "honour, liberty and law" of Westminster Abbey. Yet the dignity of his position was far from exempting Abbot Beche from worry and vexation. The growing uneasiness of the good at the way in which public affairs were going found expression at St. John's. In the very year of his election we find complaint made that some of the monks of Colchester were averse to the King's second marriage, "saying it was void and the King and his council schismatics." In 1534 the supremacy test was imposed upon the convent, and though signed by the abbot and sixteen of his brethren this was doubtless done with the saving clause "as far as is lawful by God's law," as convocation, of which the abbot was a member, had agreed. What Abbot Beche thought of the oath

when its true meaning and Henry's had become more clear will appear presently.

Though we do not possess the full evidence of his trial yet enough remains from the depositions of his adversaries to gather the general drift of the accusations brought against him. He was accused of "divers times communing and respuing against the King's majesty's supremacy, and such ordinances as were passed by act of the parliament concerning the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, saying that the whole authority was given by Christ unto Peter, and to his successors, bishops of Rome, to bind and to loose, and to grant pardons for sin, and to be chief and supreme head of the Church throughout all Christian realms and next unto Christ, and that it was against God's commandments and His laws that any temporal prince should be head of the Church." He blamed the evil counsellors who had put such ideas into the King's head, or who had prompted him to pull down the houses of religion throughout England. Offence too was taken because "at such time as the monks of Sion, the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More were put to execution, the said abbot would say that he marvelled greatly at such tyranny as was used by the King and his council to put such holy men to death, and further the abbot said that in his opinion they died holy martyrs and in the right of Christ's Church." From yet another witness we learn that his opinions on the divorce and supremacy were the real causes of his condemnation. Dr. Nuthake, a physician of Colchester, had heard him say that "the reason why the King's highness did forsake the Bishop of Rome was to the intent that his majesty might be divorced from the lady dowager and wed Queen Anne, and therefore his grace refused to take the Bishop of Rome for the supreme head of the Church, and made himself the supreme head;"—a very admirable summary of the whole question. A writer who lived soon after those times when the memory of the persecution was still fresh, speaks of him as follows. "Excelling many of

the abbots of his day in devotion, piety, and learning, the sad fate of the Cardinal (Fisher) and the execution of Sir Thomas More oppressed him with grief and bitterness. For he had greatly loved them ; and as he had honoured them when living, so now that they had so gladly suffered death for the Church's unity, he began to reverence and venerate them, and often and much did he utter to that effect, and made his friends partake of the grief which the late events had caused him. And he was in the habit of extolling the piety, meekness and innocence of the late martyrs to those guests whom he invited to his table or who came to him of their own will, some of whom assented to his words while others listened in silence. There came at length a traitorous guest, a violator of the sacred rights of hospitality, who by his words excited the abbot to talk about the execution of the Cardinal and More, hoping to entrap him in his speech. Thereupon the abbot who could not be silent on such a theme spoke indeed in their praise, but with moderation and sparingly, adding at last that he marvelled what cause of complaint the King could have found in men so virtuous and learned, and the greatest ornaments of Church and state as to deem them unworthy of longer life and condemn them to a most cruel death. These words did this false friend carry away in his traitorous breast to make them known in due season to the advisers of the King. What need of more? The abbot is bid to the same tribunal which had condemned both Fisher and More ; and there received the like sentence of death ; yea his punishment was the more cruel than theirs for in his case no part of the sentence was remitted. Thus he was added as the third to the company of the two former."

His death was preceded, as we have already seen, by a two months imprisonment in the Tower of London, where his brother abbots of Glastonbury and Reading were also confined. His life was spared a little longer than was theirs, for it was not till the 1st of December (1539) that he was put to death at Colchester.

Though even the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, besought Crumwell, the Vicar-General to spare the abbey of St. John on account of its bounteous alms-giving "to the many poor people of his grace's own town of Colchester, who have daily relief of the house" the monks were dispersed and the church and cloistral buildings destroyed. The gateway before which, it is said, the blessed abbot was put to death, alone survives to mark a spot henceforth for ever venerable.

The news of the execution of the three abbots was quickly spread abroad, and we find that numerous allusions were made to it in the correspondence of the English heretics with their friends abroad. Thus Traheron writes to Bullinger. "I have little to relate at present except that all the monks in this country have lost the appellation . . . . and that three of the most wealthy abbots were led to execution a little before Christmas for having joined in a conspiracy to restore the Pope;" and Partridge writes: "Punishment has lately been inflicted on three principal abbots, who had secreted property to a great extent, and had conspired in different ways for the restoration of popery." The martyrdom of the abbots was felt by all, Catholics and Protestants alike, to mark a further stage in the ruin of the English Church; their death struck terror into the hearts of all who had hitherto held out against the King; the fate of the few remaining religious houses was sealed, and with the destruction of the monasteries perished the last stronghold of the papal power in England.

BLESSED THOMAS PERCY,
Earl of Northumberland.

The ninth and last of those valiant men whose cultus has lately been authorized by holy Church was the Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. He was not one of the victims of Henry VIII.'s persecution, but gave up his life under that tyrant's daughter, Queen Elizabeth, rather than renounce the faith of the Catholic Church.

The Earl of Northumberland, by his wealth and still more by his upright character, was one of the most influential noblemen of the north of England. A fervent Catholic, even before his imprisonment, he could not behold unmoved the startling innovations in the public worship of the Almighty which Elizabeth was introducing and the cruelty with which she pursued those who resisted her. Besides, the Queen's title to the crown was called in question by very many, and her rival, and prisoner, Mary, Queen of Scots, was regarded by a large section of the people as the rightful sovereign of England. Small wonder that a religious war was the outcome of such well-grounded dissatisfaction with the general policy of Elizabeth. To restore Catholic worship and place Queen Mary of Scotland on the throne was the twofold object of the northern rising in which the Earl of Northumberland bore so conspicuous a part.

In company with the Earl of Westmoreland and other members of the Catholic nobility, the northern gentry in goodly numbers and the yeomanry almost to a man, the Earl of Northumberland raised the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ in this new Pilgrimage of Grace. The bells of the parish churches clanged out the tidings to friend and foe alike that "the northern men were up in arms because Elizabeth was surrounded by divers new sette-up nobles who not onlie go aboute

to overthrow and put downe the ancient nobilitie of the realme, but also have misused the quene's majesties owne personne, and also have by the space of twelve yeares now past sett up and mayntayned a new-found religion and heresie contrary to God's Word." Welcomed everywhere by the people, the army began its march. Durham, Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, Ripon* opened to it their gates; wherever it appeared the ancient worship was restored; the communion tables,—(oyster boards the people termed them)—were turned out of the houses of God, the altars rebuilt, and holy Mass sung once again in the thrice desecrated churches. For a time the army of 1,700 horse and 4,000 foot carried all before it; and had the Midlands been but as well organized as the northern counties, the earls would have been completely victorious. Circumstances, however, were too strong for them; a rising like theirs must be immediately successful or is doomed to certain failure. Want and treachery, the failure of friends abroad, and the apathy of some and the opposition of others among the Catholics at home, who though loving their religion were not willing to see it reinstated by foreign gold and Spanish aid, combined to mar the later success of a movement which began so auspiciously. With the capture of Barnard Castle and Hartlepool the luck of the earls deserted them: and soon desertion, and disunion did the work which else had been done soon enough by the royal troops massed against them. Though he withdrew into Scotland, the Earl of Northumberland was not safe. The bribes and influence of Elizabeth were able to secure his imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle. Meanwhile martial law had been

* Mr. Richard Bowes, a Marian priest, who was made one of the Vicars of Ripon Minster during the rising of the Earls, December 1569, was subsequently captured, and driven from prison to prison, till his death in York Castle, Aug. 31, 1590. Dom Thomas Mudd, a Cistercian of Jervaulx Abbey, who had acted as chaplain to Earl Percy, died prisoner for the faith in Hull Castle, September 7, 1583.

proclaimed in the northern counties, and hundreds of lives were sacrificed to establish Elizabeth's power. Thus, and by the ruthless insistency with which the oath of supremacy was everywhere, enforced were the disaffected districts drilled into sullen submission to the dubious title and spurious religion on which the Queen's power was based.

In 1572, nearly three years after he had taken up arms, the Regent of Scotland sold Earl Percy to Elizabeth. From Loch Leven he was taken to the coast and placed on board a vessel, bound, he was informed, for Antwerp. Soon to his dismay he found himself once more approaching land; soon he was landed at Coldingham, a prisoner of Elizabeth, and carried to York, the destined scene of his execution. So far all that has been related of the gallant Earl has but little to say to the honour with which henceforth we must regard him; for the Church neither encourages nor canonizes rebellion, nor in beatifying Sir Thomas Percy does it pass any verdict on the justice, or necessity, or opportuneness of the cause with which his name is associated. His connection with the rising is of interest only as it affords antecedent proof of the devoted faith which guided him throughout his whole life and which was never more clearly made manifest than when he was offered life and liberty if he would but conform to the state religion set up by Queen Elizabeth.

Of course he refused, and though the insidious proposal was more than once renewed, the holy man was as constant in his rejection of the offer as when it was first laid before him. It is this fact, so strongly attested by his contemporaries, on which is based the Church's verdict on his heroism.

Most edifying are the details which have come down to us of his prison life at Loch Leven and at York. On fasting days when his jailers would provide nothing but meat for his meals, he preferred to suffer the pangs of hunger rather than break the laws of the Church. His prayer was almost continual; even in his youthful days

he would rise early so as to secure at least an hour for his devotions before the duty or pleasure of the day called him away; in prison he spent the greater part of the day and night on his knees arming himself in prayer for the last conflict. On the night before he suffered, the Queen's emissaries again offered him his life if he would but renounce his faith. "What is this you propose?" he said, "could the Queen possibly do me a greater honour than to make me a glorious martyr?" The quiet and prayer of the man of God were broken in upon by the Dean of York and other heretical ministers during his last night on earth, wearying him with queries and arguments in the vain hope of altering his resolution. Left at length in peace he gave himself once again to his devotions, resting barely an hour, and when dawn was come resuming his prayer with redoubled fervour, and thus in prayer and fasting, taking no nourishment save five plums, he awaited the hour of his martyrdom, which was two o'clock in the afternoon of August 22, 1572. His head was severed from his body by a single blow of the axe, and then, as a contemporary records "the people collected all the blood of Christ's martyr in handkerchiefs and pieces of linen, and left not a straw which bore the mark of his blood but took them home and kept them, and revered them as if they were holy relics. For this holy man had been beyond measure pleasing to the people all his life. May his memory be blessed for ever, Amen."

THE MISSION FIELD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MORAN.[1]

I PURPOSE to set before you some sketches from the mission field of the Catholic Church in this nineteenth century, and I enter on this task that I may repel the envenomed charges which have been made against our Catholic missions and missioners. Three propositions have been again and again repeated:—

1st.—That the Catholic missions in this century have been a complete failure.

2nd.—That the results of Protestant missions have far surpassed anything achieved by Catholic missions.

3rd.—That the Catholic missionaries have been little better than poltroons, shunning the post of danger, and entering on the mission field only when the Protestant missionaries had sown the seed and borne the heat and burden of the day.

I will ask you to be a jury to decide whether such propositions are honest or honourable or true. I will endeavour to set the facts of the case before you, appealing for the accuracy of my statements to non-Catholic witnesses; but as we shall have to visit many missionary fields, I must necessarily be very brief.

[1] A Lecture delivered in 1895. This edition has been specially revised by His Eminence for the Catholic Truth Society.

Korea.

First of all, I will ask you to accompany me to Korea. That peninsula, which during the past months has so attracted the attention of the civilized world, was hitherto perhaps the most exclusive of the Eastern nations. It was not till 1876 that its first commercial treaty was concluded even with Japan, and it was only in later years that a few of its ports were thrown open to foreigners. It was so exclusive that it was known as the Hermit Land. No communication was permitted between foreign ships and the shore, except in Korean boats. Even shipwrecked crews were thrown into prison. Communication by land was no less effectually cut off by a desert of 10,000 square miles separating it from the northern mainland.

Korea is a peninsula, not unlike Italy in its geographical formation, with a population of twelve millions, and an area of about 90,000 square miles. This country is picturesque and mountainous. It has an exceptionally fertile soil and considerable mineral wealth. The language is unique, being more flexible than the Japanese and less cumbersome than the Chinese.

It is just a hundred years since the first Chinese Catholic missionary, in disguise, penetrated into this pagan land, and the first Mass in the "Hermit Nation" was celebrated on Easter Sunday, 1795. A few years later this priest was arrested, and in 1801 he had the privilege, with three hundred of his converts, of sealing with his blood the testimony of his faith. Other missionaries followed in his footsteps, and many of them shared his crown of martyrdom. In 1839 the first Vicar Apostolic and two priests fell victims to the fury of the persecution stirred up against the Christian name, and with them 127 natives were numbered among the martyrs.

It was not till 1845 that the next Vicar-Apostolic could penetrate into the kingdom. One of his priests, Fr. Maistre, spent ten years in his endeavours to break through the barriers hedging in that pagan realm. He

at length succeeded in 1852. In 1866 the Catholic Church in Korea numbered 25,000 Christians, with several native aspirants to the priesthood. In the beginning of that year pagan fanaticism stirred up anew the embers of persecution. On the 8th of March the Vicar Apostolic with three companions was beheaded. Before the end of the month five other priests laid down their lives for the Faith. A general massacre of the native Christians followed, and it was calculated that more than 10,000 perished, including the victims of the incredible hardships and privations which were endured.

Other Catholic missionaries, however, were soon in the field to carry on the work of their martyred predecessors. To the present day their public preaching is prohibited, though freedom of conscience is guaranteed by treaty. In May, 1894, the number of Catholics was 20,840, with twenty-six priests and thirty-six native ecclesiastical students. During the preceding year 1,443 adult natives had received baptism.

Where were the Protestant missionaries during all this series of persecutions and trials?

They were conspicuous by their absence from the missionary field. It was only when the ports were thrown open that they appeared upon the scene. The first resident Presbyterian missionary came from the United States, and settled at Seoul in 1884. He was followed by the Methodists. Their united congregations last year reckoned 177 members. Six other Protestant societies have now their missionaries in Korea, but as yet they report no progress.

A Protestant minister who had visited Japan and Korea, thus wrote of the Catholic missions in those countries in August, 1894:—

> It is not surprising that the heroic missionaries of the Roman Church win the plaudits of onlookers who are not impressed by the pleasant home life, with wife and children and abundant comforts, of the Protestant missionary. However out of sympathy with the dogmas of the Roman Church, their poverty, endurance, patience, and suffering excite the admiration of us all. Every

thoughtful missionary is forced to ask himself whether the Reformation did not go too far; whether the priestly, monastic, militant types are not, after all, more in accord with the missionary spirit.

Mr. Johnston, in his *Reality versus Romance* (London, 1893), inserts the following statement as having gone the round of the religious press in England:—

> Korea presents a striking illustration of the irresistible advance of the kingdom of Christ. One of the most remarkable works of grace known in modern missions is that among the Koreans. Without having heard or seen a missionary, thousands of people have heard of Christ and turned to the service of God. These converts are the fruit of the circulation of copies of the New Testament by the Rev. John Ross.

This paragraph having found its way to Korea, the Rev. Mr. Fenwick, Protestant missionary at Wonsan in Korea, wrote to the *Chinese Recorder* in Shanghai repudiating such stuff, declaring that there certainly were not fifty such converts in Korea, and that probably there were not even a dozen. He adds:—

> Concerning the New Testament that is said to be the translation of the Rev. Mr. Ross, no Korean has yet been found who has any conception of its meaning. Some thought perhaps it might be used on the border between China and Korea, but it has been accorded a fair trial there and failed to find a man who could understand its funny sound.

The same Rev. Mr. Fenwick relates another fact to illustrate the "exaggerated stories" of conversions circulated in the United States and England for interested purposes. The missionary, whose exploits in the work of conversion were extolled, sent a paid native into a village with instructions to gather as many of his friends as possible and to await his arrival there. He mustered only nine. On arriving, the missionary addressed them and told them to take off their hats. "What for?" they asked. "Oh, never mind," coaxingly pleaded the paid native, "take off your hats." The missionary then sprinkled some water upon them and told them they were baptized. None of them except one had ever seen

the missionary before, and none of them probably had the remotest idea of what was meant by baptism (Ibid., pp. 157–9).

Japan.

We hasten now to Japan.

No nation throughout the East has so come to the front during the past half-century as has Japan. Its people boast of their Mongolian descent and of having occupied their present island homes at a remote date before the Christian era. It now enjoys the rudiments of constitutional government, and its people almost at a bound have risen from practical serfdom to the use and abuse of the franchise. Its population is forty millions. They are described as "cleanly, courteous, kind-hearted, industrious, honourable, and intensely patriotic." They have defects, but we need not dwell on these. The land is picturesque and beautiful in its scenery, full of natural charms, brilliant with flowers, and sparkling with pleasant streams. But it has also its natural drawbacks, being subject to terrible earthquakes.

Japan was the missionary field of predilection of St. Francis Xavier. By the toil of that truly apostolic man and of those who follow in his footsteps, there were about two millions of Japanese Christians towards the close of the sixteenth century. The persecution that then began to rage against the Christian name was one of the most bitter and persistent ever recorded in the history of the Church. It is sad to recall that the fury of the persecutors was stimulated by the Dutch Protestants. The first fruits of the glorious Japanese army of martyrs were the twenty-six priests and religious who were crucified at Nagasaki on February 5, 1597. The soil was in truth fertilized by the blood of the native martyrs. The last Bishop, a Franciscan, was burned alive in 1624. The Catholic Church, so far as the hand of the persecutor could reach, was declared to be extinct in 1638.

It may be well to refer to a few Protestant authorities to set in its proper light the cruel atrocity of this

persecution. The author of *The Conquests of the Cross* writes :—

> One may search the grim history of early Christian martyrology without finding anything to surpass the heroism of the Roman Catholic martyrs of Japan. Burnt on the stakes made in form of crosses, torn limb from limb, buried alive, yet they refused to recant.

Lawrence Oliphant, in his *History of Lord Elgin's Mission*, states that—

> the early records of the Church do not afford instances of more unflinching heroism than is furnished in the narratives of those martyrdoms to which Japanese of all ranks were subjected when the day of trial came.

Mr. Murray, in *Japan*, in "The Story of the Nations" series (London, 1894), says that the persecution "has never been surpassed for cruelty and brutality on the part of the persecutors, or for courage and constancy on the part of those who suffered."

Mr. Gibbins, in the *Transactions* of the Japanese Asiatic Society, refers to the Japanese records of this persecution and writes :—

> We read of their being hurled from the tops of precipices, of their being buried alive, of their being torn asunder by oxen, of their being tied up in rice-bags which were heaped up together, and of the pile thus formed being set on fire; others were tortured before death by the insertion of sharp spikes under the nails of the hands and feet, while some poor wretches, by a refinement of horrid cruelty, were shut up in cages and there left to starve with food before their eyes.

For two hundred years Christianity was regarded as extinct; nevertheless the families in some remote districts retained the lessons of Divine truth, handed on from generation to generation the record of the heroism of their martyred brethren, and administered baptism to the children. The Catholic missionaries re-entered on their spiritual toil in 1858, and in February, 1865, a beautiful new church was dedicated at Nagasaki.

A few weeks later, on March 17th, a deputation from the native Christians made known to the priests that some hundreds still professed the Catholic Faith. Great was the joy of those fervent souls when they heard once more the lessons of truth from the devoted missionaries and were admitted to the Sacraments.

Several converts were soon added to the fold, and before the close of 1866 the number of Catholics was reckoned at about 20,000. But once again a fierce storm of persecution was stirred up against them.

The present Mikado, or Emperor, of Japan, ascended the throne in 1867, and, thanks to a revolution skilfully planned and energetically carried out, became in the following year sole ruler, invested alike with spiritual and temporal supremacy throughout the Empire. He inaugurated his reign by a fierce edict against the Catholics. In a few months 4,000 of the native converts were torn from their homes and distributed as criminals throughout remote districts. Yet they clung immovably to the Faith.

For six years that persecuting policy was pursued, but everywhere the Christians gave proofs of the greatest heroism; it is calculated that during that period about 8,000 of the Japanese Christians were subjected to torture, of whom nearly 2,000 died in prison. It was not till the 14th of March, 1873, that religious liberty was tacitly allowed, and the Christian prisoners and exiles were restored to freedom.

The Rev. George W. Knox, an American Presbyterian, who had been missionary in Japan, in a letter published in the *New York Independent* of August 11, 1894, does not hesitate to style the Roman Catholic mission in Japan "one of the miracles of missions, and a story of great success."

He gives two incidents which, he says, were related to him by one of the officials present at the scenes described, and which he cites to illustrate the heroic endurance of the Catholic Japanese converts. When the decree of banishment was being carried out, he says :—

Men and women were bound, and passed from hand to hand across the gang-plank of the boat which waited to carry them away, handled and counted and shipped like bales of merchandise. One woman, thrown amiss, fell into the water, and her hand waved farewell in the sign of the cross as she sank, never to rise again. The other incident concerned a woman too, a mother with her infant at her breast. The officials determined to force her to recant, and failed. At last they took her infant, placed it just beyond her reach, and there let it wail its hungry cry two days and nights, with promises all the time of full forgiveness to the mother and the restitution of her babe if only she would recant. Recant she would not, and at last her torturers gave in, their cruel ingenuity exhausted.

He adds that his informant,

a fair-minded man, who knew nothing of the Faith, thought a religion which inspired such strength of purpose worthy of his study, and formed a resolution then which bore fruit long years after to himself and many others. Fit representatives, these two, of the heroic remnant who defied the worst a ruthless Eastern tyranny could do, and in patience waited, teaching their children the same faith and patience, and these theirs again, until at last, after so many generations, a new era brought peace and safety.

Such heroism has borne its fruits. There are at present in Japan 50,000 Catholics with one Archbishop and three Bishops, and eighty-four European and twenty native priests. There are also a hundred European and twenty-eight native Religious Sisters, who have charge of three hospitals, seventeen orphanages with 2,000 orphans, and other similar charitable nstitutions.

There is one institution, the home for lepers, that merits special mention. Leprosy is a terrible scourge of the Japanese archipelago, and hitherto nothing could be more miserable or painful than the condition of the wretched and abandoned victims of this fell disorder. Now a comfortable home with pleasant surroundings has been prepared for them by the zealous missionaries, their wants are attended to by the religious in charge, and every care is lavishly bestowed upon them that charity could suggest.

As regards the non-Catholic communions, the Russian

Church has a large staff of richly endowed missionaries with a fine cathedral at Tokyo and 20,000 adherents.

The Americans were the first Protestant missionaries to enter on this missionary field in 1859. There are now about twenty missionary societies of all Protestant denominations, and if reliance can be placed on their own statistics they reckon 35,534 followers.

Miss Bickersteth (daughter of an Anglican Bishop) in her book *Japan as we saw it* (1893), writes that the contradictory nature and mutual recriminations of these various sects produces a most disheartening effect upon the keen and intelligent mind of the Japanese.

> It was impossible not to be struck (she says) with the present complications of religious matters in the country as compared with the days of Xavier. The divisions of Christendom are nowhere more evident than in its foreign missions to an intellectual people like the Japanese. The Greeks, the Anglican Churches, the endless splits of Nonconformity must and do present to the Japanese mind a bewildering selection of possibilities in religious truth.

China.

From Japan we pass to China, which, though vanquished in the late struggle, still holds rank as the premier and most powerful empire of the Eastern world. What a marvel it is to think of its 400 millions of inhabitants, the bright intelligence of its people, its 3,000 miles of coast line, its 1,700 walled cities, several of which have more than one million of inhabitants. I cannot linger as I would wish on the missionary details which mark the progress of the Church in this flowery land, as we have still a long course to run.

Here again the blood of martyrs has been the seed of Christians. The martyrs were reckoned not by hundreds, but by thousands. There were ten great persecutions in the early ages of the Church. More than ten times during the past three centuries, from the year 1600 to our own day, the persecution against the Church in China has burst forth with renewed fury, and yet the Catholic Faith lives on.

The heroism of the sufferers has never been sur-

passed. A girl of nineteen years being dragged before the tribunal, showed such joy in her countenance that the enraged mandarin asked her did she not know that unless she renounced the Christian Faith she would be condemned to death. "Here is my head," she replied, "you can order it to be cut off, but it will be to me unspeakable joy to lay down my life for Christ."

In a report of the Viceroy to the Emperor in 1747 it is stated that the missionaries were inflexible in their profession of the Christian Faith, and adds :—

> As they were conducted in chains, thousands of persons came to meet them, and to serve them as an escort of honour. Many showed by their tears the grief which they felt ; girls and women knelt before them and offered them all kinds of refreshments. Every one wished to touch their garments.

One other instance of their heroism must suffice. When Paul Tuy, a native priest, had the sentence of death announced to him, he calmly replied : "I should never have ventured to hope for so signal a grace."

During the last half of the eighteenth century, and till the year 1820, few missionaries were available for China and the other missions of the East. The events which were shaking Europe to her foundations were felt even in Asia. The clergy were persecuted, the religious societies destroyed. For many years those who would have gathered in the harvest were held in prison, and silence reigned over the pagan world.

In the beginning of the present century, the number of Christians scattered throughout the five missions of China proper was reckoned at about 180,000. In 1890 there were thirty-eight Bishops, 620 missionaries, and 370 native priests in charge of thirty-eight missions, with 580,000 Catholics. But besides all this there were in the Tonkin or Annam Mission 628,000 Catholics, making in all 1,208,000 Catholics. A distinguished Chinese visitor to France in the beginning of the last year, M. Ly-Chao-Pee, holding high official rank, in a lecture which he delivered before the Geographical Society of Lyons gave many details regarding the

Empire. For instance, the palace of the Emperor, he said, was fifty times as large as the Louvre, and all brilliantly illuminated with electric lights. But regarding religion he remarked that—"There were many popular prejudices and superstitions to be overcome. He looked to Catholicity, which is penetrating more and more extensively into China, to ultimately destroy these prejudices." He added: "It is the only means. I have the most profound conviction that it is only Catholicity that will regenerate my country."

This distinguished speaker considered that the number of Catholics in China proper was far underrated by the missionaries. From his sources of information he was persuaded that they numbered 1,095,000. He reckoned the number of Protestants as only 33,000. The Protestant missionary reports for 1894 set forth that there were forty-two different societies in the mission field, and that they reckon 40,000 communicants. We have never heard, however, of Protestant native converts or missionaries being martyrs for the Faith. Two years ago Rev. Dr. Williamson, a veteran Scotch missionary, very appropriately remarked: "Something must be done. In our present divided state we shall never christianize China. Never!"

Mr. Alexander Mitchie, of Tientsin, himself a Protestant, in his *Missionaries in China* (London, 1891), reckons the total number of Protestants in China proper at 37,287.

A few words on the Protestant missionaries. The first missionary was Rev. Dr. Morrison, who landed in Macao in 1806 and died in Canton in 1834. He was a humble apprentice in the boot trade before he entered on his missionary career. On his arrival in China he for a considerable time "never ventured out of his house in Macao." He seldom addressed more than one or two individuals, and that, as he himself relates in his letters, "in an inner apartment with the doors securely locked." He received in 1818 an appointment at the Canton Factory with a salary of £500 a year, which was soon increased to £1,000 a year. In 1834 he was further

appointed Vice-Consul with a salary of £1,300, but death cut short his singular career.

The missionary results of his ministry were *nil*. He reports in 1813 that "the natives do not seem to feel the power of truth." In 1832 he reported that ten natives had been baptized. He gave them all employment in a printing office which he had organized, but eventually they stole several cases of type and disappeared.

A gentleman engaged in the British service in Koo-Lung-Soo writes in 1853 that there were stationed there two Catholic missionaries,

> quite young men, but in devotion to their duty, in true Christian charity, benevolence, and strong religious faith, they appeared to me to surpass any men I ever met with, they were so forgetful of self and so full of pity and compassion for others.

But of the Protestant missionaries he writes :—

> They are not of a character generally to have great success. They settle themselves down at the ports, surround themselves with comforts, and confine their labours to the distribution of tracts written generally in very bad Chinese. The Chinaman sees one man devoting all his energies to the one purpose, and that an unselfish one, sacrificing comfort, health, society, all that can make life desirable ; the other comes when he can do so with perfect safety, bringing a wife and family, squabbling for the best houses, higgling for wares, and provoking contempt by a lazy life.

In Koo-Lung-Soo, where this letter was written, there were only two Protestant converts, and they were accused of "running off with the Communion plate."

Mr. Sirr, in *China and the Chinese*, writes :—

> When in China, we are grieved to our heart's core to see the servants of the Romish Church indefatigably and zealously working, making converts of the Chinese, regarding neither difficulties nor discouragements ; whilst too many Protestant missionaries occupy their time in secular pursuits, trading and trafficking, much of their time being passed in attending auctions, buying at one price, and transferring their purchase to a native at an advanced rate, although they receive a handsome allowance, more than sufficient for their support.

In 1862 we have an interesting Report from the

members of the scientific expedition conducted by Colonel Saral, with the object of tracing a passage into India across the western frontier of China. They write :—

> There is little doubt that the Roman Catholics have done much more in China than the world gives them credit for, and from Wan upwards we observed numerous Christians among the Chinese. They used to make themselves known to us by the sign of the cross. The number of Christians in the province of Sz'chuan is said to be about 100,000. There are two Bishops, and we had subsequently the pleasure of meeting one of them, as well as two of his priests, and my remembrance of them will ever be associated with the idea of missionaries indeed.

The Report adds: "Throughout our journey we did not meet with a single Protestant."

Lieutenant Wood, of the United States Navy, after visiting the stations in China and Korea, writes (in 1889) that outside the menials, who live about the quarters of the missionaries, there are no Protestant converts, and that even those menials quickly become backsliders when their wages stop.

Efforts have been made during the past twenty-five years to remedy this grave defect of the Protestant missions, and the Chinese Inland Missionary Society has been organized, which boasts of triumphant success. More than four hundred workers are engaged—men and women, young and old, married and single. Some have come from the United States, others from Canada. From a report published in 1894 I learn that three ladies have come all the way from the Free Church of Finland. Even from the distant solitudes of Iceland an offer of service has been made for that flowery and pleasant field.

And yet I find that many thoughtful Protestants regard this enterprise as the crowning disgrace of the Church which these self-constituted apostles are supposed to represent. No two of them agree in the doctrines which they preach. Some of them allow the Chinese to work on the Sabbath, others are Seventh Day Adventists, and every novelty of the home sects is sure

to find an echo in Central China. According to the latest but already stereotyped criterion of Protestant orthodoxy, there are preachers "High Church and crazy, Broad Church and hazy, Low Church and lazy." Some allow opium-smoking, others prohibit even the use of tobacco. Ancestral worship, and anti-vegetarianism, and a hundred other fancies, are linked on to the Gospel.

I will quote for you what Mr. Alexander Mitchie, a Protestant resident in Tientsin, in his work *Missionaries in China*, wrote in 1891 :—

The missionaries who are spread over China do pretty much what they individually like, and give such accounts of their work as they think sufficient. Much as the division of the Christian force into so many separate factions is to be deplored, and detrimental to the prospects of the missions as is the transference of these relics of strife from their native homes to the soil of China, it is not on the missionaries but on the societies which send them out that the blame, if any, rests. That it is a great evil can hardly be doubted. Whenever Chinese converts obtain a hearing on the subject, they speak with no ambiguity of the immense loss of force which Christianity sustains through these divisions. But there is, perhaps, a still more serious evil in the vagaries of hundreds of irresponsible evangelists, who go about the country retailing the figments of their own excited brains as the pure Gospel. On these missionaries' own showing it is impossible to prevent the poor uneducated people from making of the whole thing a tangle of fetishism, nor do the evangelists always resist to the uttermost the tendency to make medicine men of them, which shows itself frequently in their ignorant followers.

The most eccentric missionaries are naturally those, many of them single women, belonging to Mr. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission. They number 480, more than one-third of the total force of Protestant missionaries in China. They are drawn from every sect in England, from Canada, Sweden, and perhaps other countries; and the territory of China is systematically parcelled out among them so as to obviate collision, and to minimize the outward aspect of their diversities of creed and conduct. Members of other bodies may look askance at the doings of the China Inland Missions as an English squire does at those of the Salvation Army, but they cannot disassociate themselves from them in the eyes of the Chinese, who make no fine-drawn distinctions where foreigners are concerned.

A lady, fresh perhaps from some theological seminary, propounds for Chinese women—women who, on the testimony of another experienced and keen-witted missionary lady, are unable to

grasp the simplest abstract idea—a scheme of divinity so elaborate that if the salvation of our Bishops were made conditional on their mastering it, the majority of their Lordships would have sorrowfully to accept the alternative. The crop of doctrinal anomalies exhibited in a country where each individual utters recklessly whatever comes into his head, without check either from higher authority or from public opinion—that of the natives being of course disregarded—is, as might be expected, a rank jungle growth, the extent of which can never be known. Hints may occasionally be gathered from the printed papers circulated by missionaries among the heathen of a very chaos of creeds, without as much as a sect to stand sponsor for them.

It is not surprising after this to find the corollary of justification by faith worked for all it is worth by some of the irresponsible apostles, ridden by a kind of a quack logic, who lay it down plainly to the Chinese that Christians need not be moral, as they have only to believe. What the general effect on the Chinese of these varied and eccentric teachings may be we have no means of knowing. But it is obvious to inquire whether, though Christianity may nominally gain by the untrammelled zeal of zealots of all kinds, it must not eventually pay the penalty of being found out as an imposition. A real difficulty begins to be felt also with regard to the Bible itself. The book, as such, is held in such superstitious regard by the text-ridden masses that the most strenuous efforts have been made to circulate its contents everywhere, and more especially in literary China. Where the missionaries could not penetrate the book could be sent, and where they might provoke opposition by their bodily presence the Scriptures might be quietly studied in chambers with much hope of future harvest. Till lately not a doubt was breathed as to the absolute wisdom of this procedure, but the unloosing of one tongue led to the unloosing of many, and at the last Conference in Shanghai, the propriety of the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible, without note or comment, was freely canvassed. It was an unpleasant discovery, after thirty years of work at high pressure, to find that when the harvest was looked for, tares—nay, brambles and baneful weeds—instead of wheat had covered the ground. Of the possibility of such a result the blasphemous uses to which the Tai-ping Rebels turned the Old and New Testaments might have afforded the missionaries some warning. But they seem to have gone on wholly unaware what effect the Bible was producing on the minds of the thousands into whose hands it had been put. The more thoughtful heads—and it required some courage for them to say so—now recognize that the Bible is not a book to be indiscriminately read by people quite unprepared for its teachings, and out of sympathy with its spirit.

Ceylon.

Proceeding on our onward course, Ceylon next invites our attention. It has been styled the gem of the East,

the island of jewels, the rarest pearl in India's crown, the land whose flora and fauna are the paradise of those engaged in such pursuits. Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that beautiful island was a forbidden field to the Catholic missionary. As early as the year 1638 the Dutch, on the defeat of the Portuguese fleet, entered into alliance with Raja Singha, the native ruler, stipulating among other things the expulsion from Ceylon of "all priests, friars, and Catholic clergy." From that date till the close of the eighteenth century a bitter persecution raged against everything Catholic throughout the island.

In 1658 the first act of the Dutch, after they had got possession of a great part of the island, was to use all their power to eradicate the Catholic religion. Catholic schools were prohibited. No Catholic assembly could be held. Catholic baptism was interdicted, and under penalty of death it was forbidden to harbour a priest. One priest was beheaded; the few who remained in the island did so at the risk of their lives, and had to go about in disguise to stealthily administer the Sacraments. In 1690, on Christmas night, whilst Mass was being secretly celebrated, the Dutch broke in upon the congregation and seized three hundred natives. Some of them were flogged, the rest were thrown into prison. Thenceforward Dutch Protestantism was made a condition for holding any office or enjoying any emolument throughout the territory.

The British rule may be said to date from 1795, when Colombo and Jaffna were captured, but the island was not formally surrendered till 1802.

It was not, however, till the 27th of May, 1806, that civil rights were restored to Catholics in Ceylon, and the census made three years later (in 1809) gave the number of Catholics as 83,595. It was only in 1829 that full liberty was given to the Catholic clergy, the Act of Emancipation being extended to Ceylon. The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches continued to be regarded as the established Churches till 1881, and the salaries of the ministers were paid till 1886.

We are therefore in the presence of a missionary field in which all the odds are with the Protestant missionaries.

The census of 1871 gave the Catholic population of Ceylon as 184,399. According to the census of 1891, their number had increased to 246,214. It is remarkable that the Catholic schools in the public examinations hold the first place, and bear away the highest prizes of the Government. When the cholera raged throughout the island, in 1892, the clergy gave proof of heroic devotedness in attending the poor sufferers. The assistant Government agent, Mr. Jackson, gave testimony to it in the following words of his report:—

> The fearless devotion of the Catholic priests in tending those stricken of their community was beyond all praise, and proved of immense value to the civil authorities in overcoming the panic and prejudices of the people.

When the Dutch evacuated Ceylon the Protestant native population was registered as 340,000. These at once declared their readiness to become members of the Anglican Church, but they no sooner learned that such a profession of the Anglican tenets was not required in order to enjoy the emoluments of the State, than a great many of them relapsed into paganism. Haeckel, writing in 1883, gave the number of "Protestants, chiefly Europeans," as 50,000. The census of 1891 gives the whole number of all the various Protestant denominations as 55,913.

India.

We must now hasten to India, that vast Empire which with its area as extensive as all Europe, its population of 287,000,000, and its manifold distinct races, would require a volume to place its missions in their true light. British rule in India may be said to date from the victory of Plassey in 1757, and the Imperial authority was permanently secured throughout the whole of its vast

territory in 1857. Nothing could be more sad than the condition of the Indian Catholic Church at the close of the last century. Tippoo Saib, in the twenty years of his devastating career, had put to death about 100,000 Christians in South India. In one day at Tanjore he had forced 40,000 to be enrolled as Mahometans. The churches and schools and every vestige of the Catholic religion that came within his reach were swept away. For sixty years, that is from 1760 to 1820, there were scarcely any European missionaries to replace their martyred or exiled brethren.

In the beginning of the present century, outside of the Portuguese territory, there were only three Bishops and twenty missionaries with two or three native priests. There remained of the scattered flock of Catholics throughout India about 130,000. At present the Indian Hierarchy consists of eight Archbishops and twenty-one Bishops, with their dioceses fully equipped as to clergy, and nuns, and brothers. The number of Catholics in 1891, not including Burmah or Ceylon, was considerably over 1,620,000. For some years the annual number received into the Church has been over 100,000.

The growth of religion in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and their feudatories—at one time the least hopeful field for Indian mission work—was most striking. During the decade from 1881 to 1891, the Church of England increased by something more than 62 per cent., from 23,141 to 38,231. But the Catholic Church during the same period increased more than 236 per cent., the advance being from 26,653 to 89,794, or more than four times that of the Church of England. On the other hand, the Baptists show a falling off of more than 13 per cent. The Church of Scotland had declined from 3,683 to 2,970, and unspecified Christians had also decreased from 20,210 to 7,078. The change in Tinnivelly merits special mention. That district had long been pointed out as the typical district of Protestant missionary success. In the decennium from 1881 to 1891, the Protestants of all denominations decreased 8 per cent., whilst the increase of the Roman Catholics

is registered at 22 per cent. At Madura, the Bishop, Monseigneur Canoz, died in 1888. He had laboured there as missionary and Bishop for forty-nine years. He built a college in which at his death there were 1,000 students. He trained several native priests, one of whom preached his funeral panegyric. He personally received into the Church 20,000 converts. At his death the Hindoos, Mahometans, and Protestants vied with the Catholics in showing how they loved and revered the saintly Prelate.

I may now be permitted to refer to a few of the many witnesses who attest the zeal and devotedness of Catholic clergy. Sir W. W. Hunter, chief of the Statistical Department, in the third edition of his work on *The Indian Empire*, writes that

> The Roman Catholics work in India with slender pecuniary resources. The Roman Catholic priests deny themselves the comforts considered necessaries for Europeans in India. In many districts they live the frugal and abstemious life of the natives, and their influence reaches deep into the social life of the communities among whom they dwell.

Rev. Mr. Hamilton, a Presbyterian, thus commended their heroic zeal in April, 1893:—

> Her missionaries are always crowding to every heathen country, and among the great populations of India and China number their converts by scores for every one that Protestants can count as the fruits of their labours. No degree of possible self-sacrifice demanded by their work turns them back. No danger appals them. Wherever she gains a foothold she speedily erects the university, the college and the seminary as well as the church, and wins thousands of the sons and daughters of other religions, and even of Protestants, by the superior appliances with which she furnishes them. And close by the side of her school and church you will soon see her asylums for indigence and misfortune spring up. She is also a gentle and tireless nurse of human pain. Where the pestilence mows its deadliest swath of human lives, there you will see her Sisters of Mercy and Father Confessors, never shrinking from the touch of the plague and never leaving the field or remitting their ministries of care till the scourge departs or death discharges them. And many a good priest has evinced his sincerity as well as his courage by going into the battlefield where death fell the thickest that he might give the comforts and hopes of his religion to the dying

We sometimes hear it said that the whole system of Romanism is a shell, without a heart, or substance or spiritual life, that the masses are duped by its false pretences, that its leaders know it is hollow. We shall never deal wisely with the evils in any great power which millions of human hearts love and trust and find comfort in until we learn to do it justice. We know that men do not endure half a century of voluntary pain and sacrifice for what is in their eyes transparent sham.

Millions of thirsty souls, generation after generation, do not rush to the fountain which has long ago run dry. When human hearts are seeking eternal life they do not hold it so cheap as to take up with a patent counterfeit. Catholics find some deepest want of soul in their Church, or they would turn away from her as a false mother.

India is the oldest of the Protestant missionary fields, and throughout all this century it has had not only the prestige of the governing power, but also the richest endowments for its missionaries and chaplains and catechists. There are at present sixty-five Protestant missionary agencies doing work in India, and according to the census of 1891 the number of Protestants, not including Burmah and Ceylon, was 559,661, about half of whom were Europeans or of European descent. The total number of communicants was only 182,722.

As India afforded a clear field for Protestant missionary work, and as abundant funds were available from the home societies and from the State to aid the missionaries in their religious enterprise, it may be well to cite some Protestant witnesses that we may be able to judge of the merit and of the results which were achieved.

In the beginning of the century the conduct of many of the Protestant missionaries was not the most exemplary. Lord Valentia, in his *Travels*, in 1814 stated :—

It is painful to observe that the characters of too many of the clergy are by no means creditable to the doctrines they profess, which, together with the unedifying contests that prevail among them even in the pulpit, tend to lower the religion and its followers in the eyes of the natives of every description.

To remedy these evils the first Protestant Bishop, Dr. Middleton, was appointed before the close of 1814.

He stipulated for a salary of £5,000 a year for himself £2,000 for each of his Archdeacons, an additional sum of 10,000 rupees each time he went from Calcutta to Madras or to Bombay, and besides all this "the use of a ship." His Life, by his chaplain, the Rev. W. le Bas, gives full details of the further grants made by the Government from time to time to aid in the missionary work, but it is silent as to the conversions that were made. He more than once publicly deplored the discordant tenets of the missionaries, and his biographer adds :—

> Next to the suspicion that the Europeans are generally destitute of all religion, the grand impediment the Gospel has to contend with among idolaters arises from the multiplicity of shapes under which our visible religion presents itself to their notice. Their observation uniformly is, that they should think much better of Christianity if there were not quite so many different kinds of it.

This indeed is what all the writers on the Anglican missions confess. It was avowed by Dr. Grant, in his Bampton Lectures, when he declared that

> a large portion of the sterility of our missions may be attributed to that discord which Protestant Christianity exhibits in the very sight of the unbeliever.

An English traveller, Mr. William Knighton, who visited Calcutta in 1855, describes the Sunday scene in the Protestant cathedral :—

> On looking round the church I was astonished to find that the men who were labouring at the punkahs were the only natives in it. After the glowing accounts I had read in England and Ceylon of the success of missionary exertions in India, I was naturally astonished at this, and I looked and looked again in the vain hope of discovering some quarter of the church set apart for neophytes and proselytes. No, there was no such thing. [He adds that] Before the close of the sermon, the whole congregation, including the clerk, were asleep ; it was truly a lamentable, and, at the same time, a strange sight. Altogether a more truly melancholy spectacle than this outrageous burlesque of devotion it would not have been easy to parallel elsewhere. To judge by the fashionable Calcutta church, religion was a mere ceremonial mockery, an ingenious contrivance for passing away one day in the week in strange contrast with the others.

The Baptists, who in the home reports were described as rivalling the Apostles in their labours and triumphs, had but little confidence in their native proselytes. These precious converts are described in 1825 as

> not only idle, debauched reprobates, but gross railers against the truths of Christianity, who are not less loud in accusing the missionaries of deluding them by false promises than these are in stigmatizing their own proselytes as enemies to the Cross of Christ.

In Calcutta the Baptist missionaries, after six years' toil, acknowledged that though many of the natives gathered around them, the number of their converts did not exceed four. The Independents, who had even richer resources than the Baptists, declared that in seven years they had made only one proselyte.

An Anglican missionary, Rev. Mr. Townley, writes, in 1822, that no progress had been made in the work of conversions :—

> When I left Bengal there was one Hindoo concerning whom the missionaries in Calcutta had hopes, and he has since been actually baptized.

As late as 1855 another missionary attests that

> as regards the great provinces of Bengal and Hindostan no material religious impression on the population either has been made, or is now being made.

There were, nevertheless, then as there are to-day, plenty of nominal native converts. An American traveller in 1858 relates the following incident. I was informed by a native, he says, that

> all the Khitmutgars in Calcutta were Christians. I was surprised to hear this, and asked him to what Church they belonged. "Oh, sir!" he replied, "they do not belong to any Church, but they will all eat pork and drink brandy."

Again, in the Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1861–1862, one of their agents writes that

> Calcutta is, and has been for years, the receptacle of the very worst Christians of the Mofussil stations, many of them being more

depraved than the heathen around them ; the circumstance of their being baptized, and to some extent instructed in Christianity, appears to have rendered them twice dead.

This apathy in regard to Protestantism was not restricted to Calcutta. Madras was regarded as its field of predilection by the Church Missionary Society. Nevertheless the Rev. Howard Malcolm attests that but little genuine progress had been made :—

As to real converts (he says), one missionary thought there were but two or three in the whole city and suburbs ; another thought there were not half a dozen at the utmost. No one supposed there were more than that number.

A few years later the Chief Judge of the Provincial Court of Madras, giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, declared that "no such thing is known as a convert by any of our English missionaries."

Sir James Brooke, addressing the Protestant Missionary Societies at Liverpool, as reported in the *Times* of September 29, 1859, summed up the results of their many years' toil in India with the words :—

With the Mahommedan you have made no progress at all ; with the Hindoo you have made no progress ; you are just where you were the very first day you went to India.

The Rev. Edward Storrow, writing in 1859 on *India and the Christian Missions*, says that more than four-fifths of all the nominal converts claimed by the various Protestant Societies may be set aside, and of the remainder he remarks : "The general character of native Christians, it need hardly be said, is not of a high order."

Another writer attests that

the greater number who profess to be Christians have been allured to change their faith by other attractions than by a conviction of the truth and reasonableness of the doctrine, as we find nearly all of them are employed or fed by their spiritual teachers.

In 1853 Mr. Irving, after several years' experience in India, published his work on *The Theory and Practice*

of Caste. Speaking of the Protestant converts he says that "the convert, such as he figures in the pages of missionary pamphlets, at first a heathen foul with every crime, and then a Christian redolent with every virtue, is an immoral and mercenary fiction." And he adds :—

> They exhibit the signs of conversion more frequently by eating beef and by intoxication than by excellence of character. Their irregularities and lax morality have, on many occasions, shocked the feelings of even their heathen countrymen.

In the same year (1853) Baron von Schomberg, in his *Travels in India and Kashmir*, writes that

> Missionaries announcing the conversion of a solitary Hindoo among thousands of unbelievers, are themselves frequently members of some straggling sect, and too often the instruments of fanatical bigotry.

Another Protestant traveller about the same time wrote (*Ancient and Modern India*, 1851) :—

> The numerous missionaries, although they waste years, and words, and even money, have converted very few ; yet when they have induced one or two apparently to adopt their particular tenets, it is their fashion to make a clamour in the newspapers and by pamphlets, although too frequently they are not secure of their new converts for any length of time.

Mr. Campbell also declared, in 1852 :—

> It must be admitted that the attempt to Christianize the natives has entirely failed. We have made some infidels, but very few sincere Christians, and are not likely on the present system to make many more.

A writer in the *Times* (November 24, 1858) states that the

> missionary schools do not make more converts to Christianity than Government schools. A most zealous missionary in India assured me, with tears in his eyes, that, after twenty-five years experience, he looked upon the conversion of the Hindoos under present circumstances to be hopeless.

A Presbyterian writer, referring to the Free Church College for the Natives of Calcutta, states that "out of

a thousand pupils only about twelve are professed Christians." Another Protestant gentleman, Mr. Knighton, tells the effect of the high-class education imparted to the Indian youth:—

> The results have been great intellectual acuteness, and total want of moral principle; utter infidelity in religion, combined with an enthusiastic worship of reason and money.

Rev. Dr. Bickersteth, at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as reported in the *Times* (October 25, 1858) was not less explicit regarding the Hindoos:—

> They unlearn their own superstitions, but they do not learn the Gospel of Christ. They become, in fact, intellectual, accomplished unbelievers.

A Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (November 28, 1862) completes the picture which we have roughly sketched:—

> Coimbatore (he says) has belonged to us for eighty years, yet its religious darkness is as dense as an African hamlet's, where the white man has never been. And this is more or less true of all the masses of India, for we have never begun to educate them.

The *Christian Remembrancer* (July, 1860) says that missionary results in India are "enough to break the heart of any one who ever hoped to see India evangelized by means of the English Church."

Elsewhere it adds:—

> It makes the heart ache to read the history of Protestant missions in India. Over and over again at Tranquebar, at Trichinopoly, at Vellore, at Tanjore, and a hundred other places, we meet almost invariably the same melancholy story. The Gospel is preached; for a little while all seems to flourish; then comes first a period when no further advance is made, than deeper stagnation, then a grievous decline, and last the complete extinguishing of the native Church in that particular spot, or else its sinking into torpidity resembling a state of living death, and the removal of its candlestick out of its place.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ninth edition) states that in the Madras Presidency four-fifths of the Christians are Roman Catholics. Of the Protestants throughout India it remarks that "most of them are Europeans or half-caste."

Canon Isaac Taylor, in a letter to the *Times* in 1887, writes that

according to the last Report of the Church Missionary Society, through the whole northern and central region, comprising the Punjaub, Scinde, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-west and Central Provinces, there were 841 missionaries and native agents, who are employed at the cost of £48,000. They made last year 297 converts, of whom only seventeen seem to have been Mahommedans, and some of these few conversions are not altogether free from suspicion. One convert, for instance, was in prison, and another was the culprit's wife. A third was the second wife of a Mahommedan to whom she seems to have taken an aversion, and who vainly implored her to return to him. According to Indian law, by declaring herself a Christian she obtained an *ipso facto* divorce, and before long she was remarried to a Christian.

The same writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, 1888, in an article on "The Great Missionary Failure," cites the words of Sir W. W. Hunter, who writes that

"The natives in India regard the missionary as a charitable Englishman who keeps an excellent cheap school, speaks the language well, preaches a European form of their own doctrines, and drives out his wife and little ones in a pony-carriage," and adds: "The pony-carriage is obviously fatal to the missionaries' influence." General Gordon, a zealous Puritan Protestant, if ever there was one, found none but the Roman Catholics who came up to his ideal of the absolute self-devotion of the Apostolic missionary. In China he found the "Protestant missionaries with comfortable salaries of £300 a year, preferring to stay on the coast, where English comforts and English society could be had, while the Roman priests left Europe never to return, living in the interior with the natives as the natives lived, without wife or child, or salary, or comfort, or society. Hence these priests succeed as they deserve to succeed, while the professional Protestant missionary fails. True missionary work is necessarily heroic work, and heroic work can only be done by heroes. Men not cast in the heroic mould are only costly cumbrances."

Burmah.

From India proper we must hurry on to Burmah and Siam and the Malay Peninsula. In all these countries

the progress of religion has been considerable during the last fifty years.

In 1850 Burmah had only eight missionaries and about 5,000 Catholics. When England two years later seized on a portion of that territory, the Government avenged itself upon the Christians. The churches, presbyteries, and schools were destroyed. One missionary was put to death; another fell a victim to the hardships of his imprisonment. At the present day there is the fullest religious liberty, and religion is flourishing. There are forty-five missionaries with brothers and nuns, besides thirteen native priests, ninety-six schools, and 32,000 Catholics.

A letter from East Burmah, addressed to the Allahabad *Morning Post*, in the beginning of last year, passes a high eulogy on the Catholic missionaries, and contrasts them with the agents of Protestant societies:—

> The Roman Catholics have established a mission here, and are working with a zeal and energy coupled with a self-sacrificing self-denial found nowhere outside the Church of Rome. Their work and self-denial is in strong contrast to the pretence of another foreign mission whose members (some of them) live continuously in Toungoo, varied by trips to a sanatorium or the seashore. Many of the members of this precious set have gone in for filthy lucre, and make no secret of foisting upon the Kaenses patent medicines put up by their impecunious relatives in the home land. To this they add scents, soap, cheap calico, and even betel-nuts.

Siam and Malay Peninsula.

Siam, too, has its record of progress. In 1840 it had about 10,000 Catholics, with nineteen priests and sixteen schools. Its capital, Bangkok, which is called the Venice of the East, has now a grand cathedral, scarcely surpassed by any other church in the Eastern countries; whilst there are 25,000 Catholics, forty-one missionaries, fourteen native priests, and sixty-six schools. The Malay Peninsula, in 1840, had only three missionaries, two schools, and 3,000 Catholics. In 1890 it had twenty-seven missionaries, two native priests, forty-two schools, and 12,580 Catholics. It is a truly arduous mission, but

it is nobly worked by the Society of the Missions Etrangères of Paris. An English traveller some months ago thus commemorated their heroism:

The French society (he says) sent priests far away into the interior of the Malay Peninsula to carry the Gospel to the wild race of jungle men who inhabit the trackless forest, or to the coolie brought from his native home in China or India to work on the sugar plantations for the capitalistic taskmaster, who looked on them as only a better class of animal. The self-sacrificing life led by these men is the admiration of all creeds and classes. Even the Mahommedan respects the "Padre Zerani," though he hates his religion. Far removed from all companionship of their own race, these devoted men literally lay down their lives for their Master. They give up all European luxuries and comforts and even what we consider necessaries, and live like the natives or the coolies among whom they dwell. The little church in the forest and the daily increasing band of converts testify to their success in this world. Their reward is hereafter. The discomfort of their daily life is not all, for the deadly fever and other tropical diseases make life at times almost unbearable, and many a one falls a victim only to be succeeded by another devoted priest.

Seychelles Islands.

We come now to the Seychelles Islands, which are, perhaps, the most interesting group in the Indian Ocean. Tradition claims it to have been the original Garden of Eden. Abruptly rising from the ocean, the islands lift their verdant peaks as high as 1,000 feet. From the highest summit to the water's very edge, and bending over the calm blue wave, the sugar-canes and cocoanut, the limes and breadfruit wave their foliage in wild luxuriance. England took possession of this group of islands in 1814. Many Catholics from the Mauritius and Bourbon islands settled there, but there was no priest to assist and comfort them. They petitioned the Governor at Mauritius to send them a resident missionary. He chose a Calvinist minister and appointed him to the post of chaplain with a good salary. The inhabitants, however, would have nothing to say to him, and after ten years' fruitless residence in the islands he returned to Mauritius. In the meantime a Capuchin priest, having learned their spiritual destitution, at his own risk soon

landed there. He was welcomed with boundless enthusiasm, but the representative of the Governor caused him to be put on board the first vessel and shipped back to Mauritius. The Home Government, however, soon after caused liberty of worship to be proclaimed. Two years ago the first Bishop of Seychelles was consecrated. The population of the group is 18,000, and of these 16,300 are earnest and devoted Catholics.

Africa.

We will pass by the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon with their flourishing churches and 279,000 Catholics, as we hurry on to the continent of Africa. This vast continent is colossal in its proportions, being as large as North America and Europe put together. Its teeming population is roughly estimated at about 160,000,000. For centuries it has been known as the Dark Continent. As late as 1851 the President of the Royal Geographical Society in London said: "All beyond the coast of Central and Southern Africa is still a blank upon our maps." In our own day this hitherto unexplored land has become a favourite field of enterprise and research for statesmen, explorers, scientists, miners, and merchants.

What has been achieved by the Catholic missionaries in this vast and heathen continent?

In the beginning of the present century North Africa, once the flourishing Church of St. Augustine, was indeed the land of desolation, there being no longer any trace there of a Christian Church. To-day there are in North Africa more than 500,000 Catholics. Need I recall the name of Cardinal Lavigerie, the venerable prelate who ruled that Church, who by his indomitable and successful efforts to repress the slave trade won the applause of all right-thinking men even in London and Manchester and other great centres of Protestant public opinion in England?

In Western Africa, as late as 1850, there were but eleven missionaries, five schools, and 1,700 Catholics. There are to-day 156 missionaries, with ninety-four

schools and 38,610 Catholics. And who can realize the heroism by which such a religious triumph has been achieved? Suffice it to say that within this last half-century the territory of Congo has been the grave of 500 members of one religious congregation alone, the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. A Danish traveller in Congo, M. von Schwerin, writing to the *Journal de Bruxelles*, says :—

> Were I not a philosopher [that is, an infidel], I would wish to be a Catholic. After all that I have seen in Africa, I am full of admiration for the Catholic missionaries.

Another explorer in 1886 wrote :—

> That which the Catholic priests have achieved at Linzolo (a Congo station) is simply incredible, and it is the more striking, because the Anglican missionaries, with thousands of pounds sterling annually expended on the Congo mission, have accomplished nothing.

The same Fathers occupy the corresponding district on the East coast. In the *Life of David Livingstone, LL.D.*, published by J. G. Murdoch, Farringdon Road, London, page 413, we read :—

> Arrived at Bagomoyo, Mr. Stanley was hospitably entertained by the members of a Roman Catholic mission during the time occupied in engaging pagazis (bearers), and arranging to start. While Bishop Tozer, the Primate of Central Africa—who failed in establishing a mission on the Shire, after a few weeks' residence on the top of a mountain, where there was scarcely any people for miles—resided at Zanzibar, the Catholic missionaries were successfully carrying on their labours on the mainland.

We may add Mr. Stanley's account of the Fathers, their station, and their work :—

> The mission is distant from the town a good half-mile ; it is quite a village of itself, numbering some fifteen or sixteen houses. There are more than ten *padres* engaged in the establishment, and as many Sisters, and all find plenty of occupation in educing from native crania the fire of intelligence. Truth compels me to state that they are very successful, having over two hundred people, boys and girls, in the mission, and, from the oldest to the youngest, they show the

impress of the useful education they have received. After the evening meal the most advanced of the pupils came forward to the number of twenty, with brass instruments, thus forming a full band of music. It rather astonished me to hear instrumental sounds issue forth in harmony from such woolly-headed youngsters; to hear well-known French music at this isolated port; to hear negro boys, that a few months ago knew nothing beyond the traditions of their ignorant mothers, stand forth and chant Parisian songs about French valour and glory, with all the *sang froid* of *gamins* from the purlieus of Saint Antoine.

In South Africa in the beginning of the century under Dutch rule there was no toleration for the Catholic religion, and far into the present century the same persecuting policy was pursued by the British agents. To-day there are five dioceses with flourishing native settlements and 40,000 Catholics.

Along the Eastern Coast, in Madagascar, at Zanzibar, throughout Abyssinia, around the Nyanza Lakes, the Church has been almost unceasingly upon the battlefield, and her missions have won unstinted praise even from the most bitter opponents of the Church. Ten years ago, who ever heard in European circles of the Uganda mission? and yet when Mahommedans and Protestants and pagans made a combined attack upon the Catholic district there a few months ago, we learn from the official report that it numbered 50,000 native converts.

It would take too long to refer to the many important religious works carried on by the Catholic missionaries throughout Egypt. The Franciscan Fathers alone have in Lower Egypt sixty priests and forty lay-brothers, and there are 44,000 native Christians under their care. The number of Catholics in Egypt at the beginning of this century was 7,000. In 1890 they were over 80,000.

The whole African group of missions, not including the Spanish and Portuguese Islands off the West Coast of Africa, numbers about 2,000,000 Catholics.

The heroism shown by the French Sisters of Charity at Alexandria during the terrible days of the revolution some thirteen years ago merits special mention. Before the bombardment of the city and the sad scenes of rioting by which that capital of Egypt was reduced to ruin, the

Sisters who were in charge of the hospital and orphanage got notice to quit the city and proceed to the fleet. The Sister Superior replied, "If we go on sea to escape danger, who will take care of our poor sick, some of whom are in a dying state and cannot be moved? What should we do with the little orphans and foundlings, some of them only a few months old? We have made the sacrifice of our lives, and if we are to die we will die with the sick and the children." And so fifteen Sisters remained with the Superior at the post of danger. During the bombardment and the more fatal days that followed, amidst the furious cries of the Arabs as they looted and burned and massacred, she directed the Sisters not to interrupt any duty or community observance. The sick were as regularly visited, as affectionately cared for, and the religious exercises of the house as quietly gone through as if all were peace, and with admirable calm and punctuality. The English Commandant offered subsequently to obtain for her the Queen's Medal. She replied that if left to her choice she would prefer a donation for the poor. Within a few months she was the recipient of £25 from her Majesty.

We now ask what are the results of the Protestant missions. I will not refer to the labours of the Protestant Bishop Colenso among the Zulus, with which you are all familiar. As a result of his preaching amongst them it was not the Zulus that were converted by Colenso, but Colenso was converted by the Zulus. But I must not omit the singular Protestant arrangement which was made by their missionaries in South Africa. As the natives could not be induced to quit their traditional polygamy, Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, was consulted on the matter, and with his approval the Protestant Synod of South Africa decreed that the natives need not be disturbed on the head of polygamy, whilst they were allowed to assume the Christian name. No fewer than forty-two various missionary societies with 1,200 missionaries are now engaged on this vast missionary field. They claim in all their scattered missions throughout Africa 101,212 communicants.

It is not easy, however, to know how far the reports of such missionary success can be regarded as conformable to truth. The colonial settlement at Sierra Leone and its neighbouring Republic of Liberia may be said to have been organized under Protestant missionary control, and the missionaries have now for a hundred years cultivated the spiritual field. Dr. Ingham, Protestant Bishop of Sierra Leone, in his recent work *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (London, 1894), tells us the result :—

> Such mutual distrust still prevails amongst the people that no one seems ever supposed to have died a natural death. The great desideratum in the social life of the colony is the sanctity of the marriage relationship. When we deal with the Christianity of this colony, we are aware that we are on very delicate ground. The truth, however, must be stated, that only a limited number of those of our countrymen who came to these West Coast Colonies appear to wish to be known as our fellow-Christians. When Mahommedans and heathens are sitting down in this settlement, making charms and selling them to Christian people, when their "medicine men" are resorted to on every critical occasion, when old customs that have been formally disowned are paraded before eyes for which they have an inherited fascination, there must be danger to an infant Christianity so situated. Such a situation, we hesitate not to say, exists in the Sierra Leone of 1894.

He refers to the unblushing immorality that prevails, and adds :—

> Is it a wonder that kings and chiefs around Sierra Leone (it is a well-known fact) instead of wishing their people to come and see how well we do things, dread for them to come to this colony on account of the danger to their morals? (p. 294).

It was only last year that the Republic of Liberia, though Protestant, sent a petition to Rome for priests and nuns to take charge of their schools and hospitals. The reason assigned is the low condition and ignorance of the Methodist missionaries, of whom a German traveller writes :—

> How can ex-machine-greasers or ex-cobblers preach a faith they do not understand? They are a disgrace to civilization.

A few extracts from the narrative of Mr. James Johnston, M.D., one of the latest explorers of South Central Africa, may serve to set this matter in its true light. His narrative is entitled *Reality versus Romance* (London, 1893), and he gives his own experiences during his travels across the African continent in 1891. I may add that he is himself a Protestant, and that he undertook his exploring tour in the interests of the Methodist missions.

He had been informed by the Protestant Bishop whom he had met in the United States during the previous winter, that Loanda was an important missionary station. He found there a comfortable house, indeed, for the missionary, who gathers around him on Sunday "a few men and boys in the basement story." As regards conversions, however, there are as yet no "apparent results" (p. 26).

At Cilumi there were three American missionaries with their wives and families, and one Canadian school teacher.

This mission, an oasis in the desert, was founded about twelve years ago, and there are now twenty-four converts (p. 48).

Of the Kwangjululu mission he writes :—

My preconceived ideas in favour of this mission have received such a shock, as week by week its actual condition has been laid bare, that I would prefer to draw a veil of silence over all I have seen and heard here ; but I am impelled, from no other motive than my interest in missions generally, to plead for a reformation in such quarters, lest the day come when the enthusiasm aroused at home by the flaming and high-coloured reports of grand conquests of the Gospel will suffer reaction. The supporters of this enterprise have been led to contribute large sums of money toward what may be truthfully designated a huge farce (p. 56).

At Cisamba :—

The chief is in warm sympathy with the mission, and speaks of Mr. Currie (the missionary) as his friend, although nowhere have we as yet seen a native man or woman giving evidence of having anything like a true conception of the Christian's God, not even among

those who have been in the habit of visiting the mission station for years. With them Jehova takes a second place to their god Kundundu (p. 85).

Of the missionaries he writes :—

We have already met too many namby-pamby, useless volunteers, posing as missionaries in this country ; wasting time and money, accomplishing nothing, mentally and physically incapacitated for grappling with the innumerable difficulties which present themselves at every turn (p. 93).

Sefula, situated on a beautiful plateau overlooking the great valley of Barotse, is described as a model mission station. Yet here are the results as reported to Mr. Johnston by the missionary himself :—

It is now seven years since our expedition crossed the Zambesi, and the mission was started ; and yet we are still passing through that arduous and uninteresting period of breaking the fallow ground and sowing the seed. We anxiously watch for the appearance of the little cloud and the showers of blessing which it shall bring. Sometimes a little mist in the atmosphere has filled our hearts with hope ; then the mist vanished away, and the sun shone in a brazen sky, fiercer and more scorching than ever (p. 154).

The traveller assisted at Protestant service at Sesheke, where a very intelligent Swiss had the charge of the mission. At the formal opening of the mission this missionary

went around the villages inviting the people to come. About 150 responded to the call, as there was to be a roasted ox distributed. But yesterday, there being nothing promised to eat, the service commenced with an audience consisting of the chief, five lads, and four women. The manifest total indifference of the natives is even more disheartening than open hostility.

He gives another instance of a young missionary at the same station who was much impressed by the regular attendance of three natives who posed as inquirers.

After five days' instruction he remarked them loitering about the place and asked them what they wanted. They replied : "We are waiting for five days' pay. Did you

think we were coming here every day to listen to you for nothing?" (p. 200).

Palachwe has a converted chief, Khama, about whom "much has been written by missionaries and travellers," yet under his rule "immorality is more brazen-faced than among the most uncivilized we have met hitherto. Half of his people are slaves" (pp. 235–6).

At Mangwato, Mr. Johnston "learned from Rev. Mr. Elliott, one of the oldest and most experienced missionaries, that not half a dozen natives can be found in the whole country who would boldly assert their allegiance to Christianity." He adds:—

> Even missionary reports often fail to tell the truth concerning the field in which they seek to create an interest: fearing that a full account might discourage contributors (p. 239).

Entering the territories under British protection he remarks: "The missions in Mashonaland, so far, are for the evangelization of the Europeans; no effort is being put forth to reach the natives."

And reviewing the position of the natives under British control, he writes:—

> Dr. Guthrie, of honoured name, hit the mark when he said in reference to British colonization: "Not more fatal to the Canaanites was the irruption of the Hebrews than our arrival in almost every colony to its native population. They have perished before our vices and diseases; our presence has been their extermination" (p. 261).

But we must hasten on to other missionary fields.

America.

What shall I say of the missions throughout the vast continents of America? The last census gives to the Canadian Dominion and its adjoining missions more than two millions of Catholics. A British explorer not long ago reported that even in the remotest districts of frozen Alaska he found the devoted Catholic missionaries sharing the hardships of their flock and leading them to Heaven.

In his *Great Lone Land* (published by Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1873) Sir William Butler, aide-de-camp to Lord Wolseley, and recently Military Governor of Alexandria, speaking of Edmonton (p. 261) says :—

> It is a wild, lone land, guarded by the giant peaks of mountains, whose snow-capped summits lift themselves 17,000 feet above the sea-level. It is the birthplace of waters which seek in four mighty streams the four distant oceans—the Polar Sea, the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific. A few miles north-west of Edmonton, a settlement is presided over by a mission of French Roman Catholic clergyman of the Order of Oblates, headed by a Bishop of the same order and nationality. It is a curious contrast to find in this distant and strange land men of culture and high mental excellence, devoting their lives to the task of civilizing the wild Indians of the forest and the prairie—going far in advance of the settler, whose advent they have but too much cause to dread.
>
> He who has travelled through the vast Colonial Empire of Britain must often have met with men dwelling in the midst of wild, savage peoples, whom they tended with a strange and mother-like devotion. If you asked who was this stranger who dwelt thus among wild men in these lone places, you were told he was the French missionary ; and, if you sought him in his lonely hut, you found ever the same surroundings, the same simple evidence of a faith which seemed more than human. I do not speak from hearsay or book knowledge. I have myself witnessed scenes I now try to recall. And it has ever been the same, East and West, far in advance of the trader or merchant, or sailor or soldier, has gone this dark-haired, fragile man, whose earliest memories are thick with sunny scenes by bank of Loire or vine-clad slope of Rhone or Garonne, and whose vision, in this life at least, is never destined to rest again on those oft-remembered places. Glancing through a pamphlet one day at Edmonton—a pamphlet which recorded the progress of a Canadian Wesleyan Missionary Society—I read the following extract from the letter of a Western missionary : "These representatives of the Man of Sin, these priests, are hard workers, summer and winter they follow the camps, suffering great privations. They are indefatigable in their efforts to make converts. But their converts," he adds, "have never heard of the Holy Ghost."

He should have said they had never heard the profane gibberish that he talked to them about the Divine Spirit.

The growth of the Church in the United States is one of the marvels of the century. I would wish to dwell upon this bright and glorious theme, but we

must hasten on. One instance may suffice for all. A short time ago the citizens of Boston, Catholics and Protestants alike, rejoiced in the celebration of the sacerdotal jubilee of its Catholic Archbishop. In his younger days Boston was the headquarters of New England Protestantism, and had only 120 Catholics. It is to-day in a great measure a Catholic city, and reckons in its Catholic congregations over 600,000 members.

In South America the Church in former times achieved most glorious triumphs. The name of Paraguay in the beginning of the last century was the synonym of all that was best and happiest for a prosperous Christian people. Unhappily, men vested with authority were seized with the vertigo of Voltairian infidelity. They waged war against religion, and as a result not only the influence of the Church but also the prosperity of those States came to utter ruin. At the present day religion is flourishing once more in many of the Republics of Central and South America, and among the scattered native races from Panama to Tierra del Fuego apostolic men are everywhere found, by word and by example, bringing to them the blessings of Christian enlightenment. The number of Indians who in South America have been brought to the fold of Christ during the present century is 230,000.

I cannot dwell on the Protestant missions in those vast regions, which their own patrons confess to be without fruit. A worthy Methodist traveller in Central America a little while ago declared that it is the Protestant missionaries in those parts who need conversion. Another resident on the Mosquito coast thus relates their success with the native races (*Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore*, &c., by Thomas Young):—

A short time back (he says) a missionary arrived, for the purpose of giving the natives some idea of a future state; a house was especially found for him, and he commenced preaching; and for a few Sundays he gave some of the chiefs a glass of grog each, to ensure their attendance. At length, one Sunday a great number

of the natives attended to hear the white stranger talk; on this occasion the worthy and reverend gentleman was more than usually eloquent, when one of the chiefs arose and quietly said, "All talk, no grog, no good," and gravely stalked away, followed by all the natives, leaving the astonished preacher to finish his discourse to two or three Englishmen present.

An astute Scotchman was wiser in his arrangements. A pipe and tobacco rewarded each native that remained awake till the end of his discourse, and on state occasions a little dinner was added.

Oceania.

We now turn towards home, but we must pay at least a hurried visit to that grand mission field which is known as Oceania. This geographical name embraces more than two thousand islands varying in size from a continent to a tiny speck on the bosom of the pathless seas. They are in many ways attractive, bright with perpetual summer, and enriched by Nature with her choicest treasures, but in most of them till our own day the natives have been sunk in the lowest depths of superstition and ignorance and misery. This island world has been divided into no fewer than thirty-eight distinct groups, the most numerous of which, the Philippine group, has four hundred islands and more than four million inhabitants, three and a half millions of whom are Catholics.

In many of these islands our missionaries, unknown to the world, are spreading around them the blessings of religion and Christian enlightenment amid untold privations, and with a heroism that has never been surpassed. For instance, the Tonga group now reckons its 7,000 fervent Catholics. A writer who, under the name of Rolf Boldrewood has done much to promote Australian literature amongst us, thus writes of this interesting mission:—

At the Marist mission in Tongatabu I was received most kindly by the venerable Father Chevron, the head of the Church in Tonga. His had been a life truly remarkable. For fifty years he had laboured unceasingly among the savage races of Polynesia; he had

hairbreadth escapes, and passed through deadliest peril. Like many of his colleagues he was unknown to fame, dying a few years later beloved and respected by all, yet comparatively unhonoured and unsung. During the whole course of my experience in the Pacific I have never heard the roughest trader speak an ill-word of the Marist missionaries. Their lives of ceaseless toil and honourable poverty tell their own tale. The Catholic Church may well feel proud of these her most devoted servants.

Two islands of this group, Wallis and Futuna, have been rendered illustrious by the martyrdom of their apostle, the Blessed Chanel, the first missionary that ever landed on their shores. Through the blessing of his apostolate they are wholly Catholic, and are looked to as the model islands of the whole Pacific.

The Samoan group has its 6,000 Catholics, and it would be difficult to find anywhere braver or more religious men. They have shown their bravery when engaged in conflict with trained European troops; they have given proof of their Christian spirit, when they have heaped kindness on their would-be enemies. When the Countess of Jersey—who, during the viceroyalty of her worthy husband, won such golden opinions here among ourselves—visited those islands in 1892 she remarked to me that she was particularly struck by the fervent piety of the Catholic natives who, every morning at the first dawn of day, used to assemble in their neat church and there performed their devotions and chanted their sweet hymns before setting out for their daily work.

The same may be said of the Fiji Islands, with their 12,000 Catholics, of the Gilbert group and its 6,000 converts, of the Gambier Islands, almost entirely Catholic, and of the Marquesas Archipelago with about half its population Catholic. The Methodist missionaries who landed in the Marquesas soon quitted it in despair. The first Catholic missionaries who arrived there in 1836 had to undergo the greatest hardships. Sea biscuit steeped in water was their only diet. They were treated as slaves by the chiefs, subjected to constant insult, and repeatedly in danger of being killed and devoured.

Fugitive convicts, runaway sailors, and pirates were the only other Europeans in the island, and they, besides disgracing the name of white men, proved the bitterest enemies of the devoted missionaries. Nevertheless, these heroic men persevered; they learned the language, and gradually by their self-denial and charity overcame every obstacle, and at length won many glorious triumphs for the Faith.

Did time permit, I would wish to refer at some length to the Sandwich or Hawaiian group, the history of which is perhaps one of the saddest in the whole range of missionary annals. Protestant missionaries early in the century appropriated to themselves this mission field, but under their rule the poor natives have gradually dwindled away from a population of about 400,000 to little more than 40,000, and of these about 1,400 are lepers. There was in particular one most lamentable feature of their enterprise; they appropriated to themselves the richest lands and built up fortunes on the misery of the poor natives. As far back as the 15th of September, 1832, I find an English resident complaining in the *Literary Gazette* that the head missionary, who had been a chair-maker, had already amassed 20,000 dollars' worth of property. The same complaint is repeated as late as April, 1893, when Colonel Ashford, a prominent resident in Honolulu, addressed a letter to the United States Commissioner Blount, and deprecated American interference in the political difficulties that had arisen on the following grounds:—

> The feeling is strong here (he says) that no American Commissioner can fail to be influenced by the Protestant missionary party here, and that the proposed scheme of annexation would result in the plutocratic rule of a half-dozen men who came here poor to serve the cause of religion on starvation salaries, and who have developed by thrift into a moneyed aristocracy, owning all the valuable lands and industries of the country. This class has always been the enemy of the native race, and their efforts to reduce the Kanakas to inferior political position, as well as their arrogance to those not so rich as themselves, have alienated all classes from them.

That is a severe arraignment of those missionaries by one who knows them well.

Another American writer last year (April, 1894) sketched as follows the result of the Protestant missions in Hawaii :—

> The missionaries (he says) getting practical control, both intellectual and political, of a heathen race seeking for religious instruction, have only succeeded in building up a wealthy colony of a few hundred planters and merchants in the islands they professed to evangelize. The population has welcomed them, and in two generations it has all but perished. The survivors for the greater part have rejected any form of the doctrines they once received so readily, and where they have not received the Catholic Faith, they have practically ceased to be Christians.

The one bright sunny spot in Hawaiian history is its Catholic mission, the heroism of its missionaries, and the fond affection cherished towards them by their 30,000 converts. The name of Father Damien will not be soon forgotten, nor the heroic devotedness and self-sacrifice of the zealous missionaries and nuns who, following in his footsteps, spend their lives ministering to the wants of the poor lepers of Molokai.

What shall I say of the other Protestant missions throughout the Pacific? There are, we are told, 2,260 stations in 350 islands, and yet, according to the latest reliable report by Rev. James Dennis, of the American Presbyterian Mission (*Foreign Missions after a Century*, London, 1894), the whole number of Protestant communicants is set down at 58,000, which is little more than half the number of the fervent Catholic converts. From all the Protestant missions in these islands the same story comes, that the native races are dying away. The contrary is seen in Wallis and Futuna, and the Gambier Islands, where under the benign influence of the Catholic Church the native population has steadily grown in numbers and in material prosperity. I have no doubt that many on the long roll of Protestant missionaries, Methodists or Presbyterians or Anglicans or whatever other sect they may represent, are men of earnest faith who endeavour with a good conscience to

spread out the Kingdom of God. But tales come to us at times of commercial pursuits being connected with missionary activity, and of men piling up wealth (not always honestly) and coming to spend the summer or autumn of life in comfort and affluence in Australia. We have read of Bible translations which were little better than a parody of God's Word; and have we not also heard of the good old English lady who bequeathed £1,000 to buy spectacles for the South Sea islanders, to enable them to read the Scriptures?

We are also told of missionaries who, to swell the number of their adherents, have overlooked the irreligious usages of the natives and allowed immorality to wear the mask of the Christian name. To all such things Catholics can give no countenance, but to every enterprise that may help to spread the gospel of truth and diffuse more and more the blessings of Christian charity and enlightenment and peace, we say with all our hearts, Godspeed!

We now bring to a close our tour around the world in missionary fields. And yet we have left unvisited many chosen fields of missionary toil. I would have wished to set before you the triumphs of Catholic zeal among the suffering races of Asia Minor as well as in many countries of Europe, and in the West Indian Islands and other religious centres where the Gospel seed, sown perhaps in sadness and in tears, has already yielded a rich and abundant harvest.

What I have said, however, will, I am confident, suffice to prove that the Church has been quickened by the missionary spirit in this nineteenth century, and that the fruitfulness of its blessings has not been surpassed, even in the palmiest days of her glorious history. Year after year she has sent forth a numerous army of apostolic men, and Heaven has lavished upon them the choicest gifts of a Father's love. She imparted to them a life-giving ministry of peace and power and charity, and the marvels which they accomplished are the work of the right hand of the Most High. One hundred and

nineteen missionaries in this century have won by their heroism the martyr's crown, and countless others from the ranks of the faithful have poured out their blood for the Faith. They have bequeathed to us a priceless heritage of Christian heroism, of which the Church of to-day may be justly proud.

May the mission field be ever privileged to be thus blessed by Heaven; may such true heroes of the Faith be ever with us to garner the spiritual harvest; and may the like abundant fruits ever continue to repay the indomitable spirit of self-sacrifice and charity and zeal of the devoted missionaries of Holy Church!

MR. COLLETTE ON ST. PETER.

[The prominent position accorded to Mr. Charles Hastings Collette by the Protestant Alliance and similiar bodies renders his statements worthy of an attention to which they are not entitled by their intrinsic importance. His arguments, moreover, if we may so style them, are those which form the staple of most itinerant Protestant Lecturers, and by this means reach the ears of many.

The Catholic Truth Society has already devoted two penny publications to the consideration of Mr. Collette as a Historian and a Controversialist;* and Mr. Allnatt, in the new edition of *Was St. Peter Bishop of Rome?* has considered that gentlemen's "Reply" to a previous issue of his important pamphlet. This supplement is here reprinted in a separate form, in the belief that it will thus be useful for distribution at Protestant Meetings where the Petrine position is discussed, and in other places to which Mr. Collette's inaccuracies have penetrated. The Protestant Alliance raised a special fund for the publication of the series called "The Catholic Truth Society Exposed," of which the pamphlet here examined may be taken as a sample. The public must decide who it is that is "exposed" by such publications.]

A Tract professing to be a "Reply" to *Was St. Peter Bishop of Rome?* has been written by Mr. C. H. Collette and published by the Protestant Alliance.

As it was found impossible adequately to discuss Mr. Collette's blunders and misstatements in the text or notes of the new edition, it seemed advisable to devote a short

* *Mr Collette as a Historian.* By the Rev. S. F. Smith S.J.
Mr. Collette as a Controversialist. By F. W. Lewis.

Supplement to an examination of his most misleading and mischievous statements—thirty in number.

The first eight pages of Mr. Collette's "Reply" are devoted to the subject of Papal Infallibility,—with which we are not now concerned. In the remaining portion of his tract I notice the following characteristic specimens of that gentleman's method of treating evidence which he was called upon to meet.

I. Instead of attempting to refute the facts and arguments advanced by eminent Protestant writers (cited or referred to in my tract, pp. 3-6) to show that by "Babylon" (in 1 Pet. v. 13) St. Peter meant *Rome*, and that the literal Babylon could not possibly have been signified,—Mr. Collette simply asserts:—"It is *taken for granted* that 'Babylon' meant the city of Rome." Now let the reader refer to my extracts from *The Speaker's Commentary*, Bishop Ellicott's *Bible Commentary*, Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*, and, in particular, to the *Introduction* to St. Peter's 1st Epistle in the first named work (much too long to be cited in my tract):—and then judge for himself whether anything is "taken for granted."

II. "*It was Eusebius* (A.D. 350)," says Mr. C., "*not Papias, as often asserted, who suggested that Peter by Babylon referred to Rome*" (p. 9).

This statement is untrue. EUSEBIUS, after saying that St. Mark the Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Rome, and that it was approved of by St. Peter, continues: "This account is given by CLEMENT [of Alexandria] in the 6th book of his Institutions, whose testimony is corroborated also by PAPIAS, Bp. of Hierapolis. But Peter makes mention of Mark in his 1st Epistle, which *they say* [φασιν, *i.e.*, Clement and Papias] he wrote at the same city of Rome, and he shows this fact by figuratively calling Rome Babylon, in these words:—"The Church which is at Babylon," &c. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 15.) St. JEROME also says:—"And PAPIAS, Bishop of Hierapolis, makes mention of this Mark, as also does Peter in his 1st Epistle, where he signifies Rome figuratively under the name of Babylon" (*De Vir. Illust.*, s. v. *Marc.*).

III. To the argument from John xxi. 18, Mr. C. does

not make any reply; but insinuates that I had in my tract "*told the wonderful story of St. Peter, when at Rome, arresting the flight of Simon Magus in a fiery chariot,*" &c. (p. 9.): to this legend not the slightest reference is made in my tract.

In corroboration of the argument from our Lord's prophetic declaration as to the time and manner of St. Peter's martyrdom, I may here cite the words of the most learned English Protestant of modern times:—"Nothing, it is true, is here said about the place of martyrdom. But the crucifixion of St. Peter is always connected by tradition with Rome, and with no other place. It would be arbitrary, therefore, to separate the locality from the manner of martyrdom. Unless we accept the Roman residence of St. Peter, we know nothing about his later years and death." Bp. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, 1890, part 1. vol. ii. p. 492.

IV. In the same page Mr. C. repeats the old Protestant objection from St. Paul's *silence* regarding St. Peter in his Epistles written from Rome: coolly ignoring the *answer* that I had given in pp. 27-28.

V. In p. 10 he again reverts to the subject of St. Peter's conflict with Simon Magus in Rome. As I had not touched upon this in my tract, I will here merely remark that St. JUSTIN MARTYR (A.D. 140) refers to Simon Magus' visit to Rome in the reign of Claudius; and that, more than a century before Eusebius wrote his history, St. HIPPOLYTUS refers to the conflict between Simon Magus and Peter in Rome (Hippol. *Adv. Hær.* vi. 15). See also the note in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1,321.

VI. To meet my argument that the Church of Rome had been founded and was in a flourishing condition *before* St. Paul visited that city, Mr. C. harps on the old objection from St. Paul's *silence* about St. Peter in his Epistle to the Romans. This difficulty also had been noticed in my tract, pp. 27-28.

VII. "*We are asked to accept as a fact,*" says Mr. C. (p. 11), "*that it was universally believed that St. Mark wrote his Gospel under the influence and almost under the dictation of St Peter, either in Rome or Italy.*"

But the words of the Protestant Dean ALFORD are:— "It was universally believed *in the ancient Church* that Mark's Gospel was written under the influence and almost dictation of Peter." "The ancient records of Church History," says Dr. CHR. WORDSWORTH, late Bishop of Lincoln, "attribute to this Evangelist an intimate connection with the Apostle Peter. It is asserted by ancient authorities" [these he cites in a long note] "that St. Mark wrote his Gospel under the eye of St. Peter; and that it was written at the request of the Christians at Rome, who heard St. Peter preach there; or, as others say, it was dictated by that Apostle at Rome, with a special view to circulation in Italy and among the Romans generally; and that St. Mark was sent afterwards by St. Peter to Alexandria in Egypt; and that he was the first Bishop of that Church" (*Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 112). From my lengthy quotation from another learned Protestant writer, Dr. N. LARDNER, Mr. C. learns that St. CHRYSOSTOM was a solitary exception to the otherwise unanimous voice of the ancients as to the *place* where St. Mark's Gospel was written; but does the Saint deny that St. Mark had gathered from St. Peter, in Rome, the materials which he afterwards committed to writing,—in Egypt as St. Chrysostom supposed?

VIII. The mention of St. Mark sets Mr. C. harping on the old objection to St. Peter's *Supremacy*, based on *the silence* of that Evangelist and of St. Luke regarding the promise made to St. Peter as recorded in Matt. xvi. 17, 18. But this objection I have fully examined and answered in another tract—*Notes on the Texts of Holy Scripture alleged against the Supremacy of St. Peter* (pp. 9-12),—published by the Catholic Truth Society. To this I refer Mr. C. and my readers.

Mr. Collette seems to be wholly unaware of the fact, that it is as much from the *internal* evidence in St. Mark's Gospel, as from the unanimous testimony of the ancients, that learned Protestant (as well as Catholic) critics have come to the conclusion that St. Mark's Gospel had really St. Peter for its author.

In Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (vol. ii. p. 806) we read:—

"Chrysostom seems first to have drawn attention to the fact—that in St. Mark's Gospel every defect in St. Peter's character and conduct is brought out clearly without the slightest extenuation, while many noble acts and peculiar marks of favour are either omitted, or stated with less force than by the other Evangelists" (See also pp. 236-7). St. Peter's modesty and humility, however, are evidently quite beyond Mr. Collette's comprehension.

As a further objection to St. Peter's Supremacy, Mr. Collette refers (p. 11) to the account given by St. Mark, (ch. ix, 34-7) of the dispute amongst the apostles as to "which of them was the greater," and our Lord's reproving answer. This objection also was fully discussed in *Notes on Texts alleged against St. Peter's Supremacy*, pp. 5-6.

The last half of p. 13 in Mr. Collette's tract contains half-a-dozen untruths, which must be enumerated separately.

IX. "*Of those who hand down the tradition, not one of them, until we come to Jerome at the beginning of the 5th century, states that St. Peter reigned in Rome as Bishop.*"

In answer to this utterly false assertion I oppose the evidence given in the second part of my tract; also Dr. MILMAN's candid acknowledgement that "*Before the end of the third century*, the lineal descent of Rome's bishops from St. Peter was unhesitatingly claimed, and obsequiously admitted by the Christian world" (*Hist. of Early Christianity*, ed. 1840, v. iii. p. 370).

X. "*Jerome started the apocryphal story that Peter reigned in Rome as Bishop for twenty-five years.*"

This statement, again, is simply untrue. As shown in my tract, p. 15, the learned HIPPOLYTUS, A.D. 220, had stated in his Chronicle that St. Peter had been Bishop of Rome for 25 years; for it has been proved by several of the most learned Protestant writers of modern times that the first portion of the "*Liberian Catalogue*" of the early Bishops of Rome, drawn up in A.D. 354, was derived from the Chronicle of Hippolytus,—not now extant. Bp. LIGHTFOOT states that the Liberian Catalogue "comprises much more ancient elements," and that the first part "must have been drawn up in its original form shortly after the date 230."

He considers that the Chronicle and List of early Roman Bishops are "on good grounds ascribed to Hippolytus . . . . At all events, if not the work of Hippolytus himself, it (the list of Roman Bishops) must have been compiled by some contemporary, who like him had a direct acquaintance with the affairs of the Roman Church" (*Apost. Fathers*, part i. vol. i. p. 65). These Liberian and Hippolytean Catalogues of the first Popes may be seen in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 1656, and in Lightfoot's *Apost. Fath.*, vol. i. pp. 265, 280.

XI. "*This statement Jerome foisted into his translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius; whereas Eusebius never once asserts that Peter ever was Bishop of Rome.*"

This audacious statement is disproved by the fact stated in p. 14 of my tract,—viz.: that early and independent ARMENIAN and SYRIAC TRANSLATIONS of Eusebius' Chronicle, made direct from the Greek, have been preserved, and that these establish the accuracy of St. Jerome's Latin version. See full account of these versions in Lightfoot's *Apost. Fath.*, vol. i. pp. 207-247, and Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 352-354. The Eusebian Catalogues of the early Popes may be seen in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. pp. 1655-7; and in Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 241, 253, 267, 272. *In all of them St. Peter appears as first Bishop.* Moreover, Eusebius' statement in his *Chronicle* is confirmed by what he says in his *Hist. Eccles.*, l. ii. c. 14,—viz., that St. Peter went to Rome "immediately under the reign of Claudius" (compare l. ii. c. 17)—*i.e.*, A.D. 42. And he expressly calls Linus, in his *History*, "the first Bishop of Rome *after Peter*" (l. iii. c. 4.), and Alexander the fifth "*in the succession from Peter and Paul*" (l. iv. c. i.).

XII. "*Eusebius quotes* IRENÆUS *as saying that while Paul and Peter were occupied in establishing or founding Churches, (they) together appointed Linus as first Bishop of Rome.*"

Here we have a gross perversion and mistranslation of the text of Irenæus. His words literally translated from the Greek are as follows:—"The Blessed Apostles [PETER and PAUL] having founded and established the Church [of Rome, not *churches*, as Mr. C. falsely translates], transmit-

ted the office of the Episcopate to Linus" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, l. v. c. 6; Professor Cruse's trans. in Bohn's *Eusebius*). In Lib. iii. c. 2, Eusebius says:—"*After the martyrdom* of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the Episcopate at Rome,"—which words show that, previously to that event, Linus could only have been coadjutor Bishop *cum jure successionis*. All this was pointed out in my tract, pp. 28-9.

XIII. "While TERTULLIAN," continues Mr. C., "says that Peter appointed *Clement* as first Bishop."

Here Mr. C., as usual, utterly ignores what was said in this tract, pp. 15, 16, 29. Tertullian did *not* assert that Peter appointed Clement as first Bishop. Clement did not become Bishop of Rome until A.D. 93,—though he also, like Linus, may have previously been ordained a coadjutor Bishop, *cum jure successionis*.

XIV. Even if the statement of the Pseudo-Clementine "Letter to James," cited by Mr. C. in p. 14, were true, it would only follow that, as suggested by St. EPIPHANIUS, Clement for a time resigned the Episcopate in favour of Linus and Cletus,—and resumed it again on the death of the latter.

XV. The statement of LACTANTIUS (A.D. 306) is cited to show that St. Peter did not visit Rome before the reign of Nero (Collette, p. 15), but this refers to St. Peter's *last* visit, soon followed by his martyrdom. If, as Lactantius previously states, the Apostles were "dispersed over the whole earth, and during twenty-five years laid the foundation of the Church throughout all provinces and cities,"—is it likely that the chief city of the Empire would have remained unvisited by any of them during all that period? Lactantius' words, then, do not even tend to disprove St. Peter's earlier visit to Rome.

XVI. The apparently contradictory statements of certain early writers as to St. Peter's first successors, on which Mr. Collette insists in p. 17, are cleared up by the explanation briefly pointed out in my tract, p. 29.

XVII. "*The writer*," he says, "*has the assurance to quote the Clementine Epistle to James*" (Collette p. 19). If the reader turns to my tract, p. 24, he will find that my

words were:—"*Passing over* the Clementine Epistle to James," &c.

XVIII. "HEGESIPPUS' list of the early Bishops of Rome *nowhere exists*," says Mr. C. "*We only know of Hegesippus' writings through Eusebius*" (p. 20). But, as stated in my tract, pp. 21, 22, the late Bp. Lightfoot has learnedly shown that the identical list referred to has been preserved in the original Greek by St. EPIPHANIUS (*Hær.* xxvii. 6); and even Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in his recent work on (against) *The Infallibility of the Church*, thinks that "all doubts are removed" by Bp. Lightfoot's arguments (*Infallibility of the Church*, 2nd ed. p. 359).

These arguments may be seen in *The Academy*, May 21st, 1887, and in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, 1890, part 1., vol. i. pp. 328—333.

XIX. In p. 21, Mr. Collette misquotes and perverts and makes nonsense of a passage from my tract regarding Pope VICTOR.

XX. "IRENÆUS *is then most impudently cited as the next authority. . . . Irenæus never once mentions that Peter was Bishop of Rome.*" (Collette p. 21).

But Irenæus' *words* were fully cited by me, and their meaning was discussed in a long note. We have already seen (no. xii) how grossly and "impudently" Mr. C. has perverted the original text. Moreover he had to face the facts (but does not attempt to do so),—(1st) that Irenæus was expressly speaking of those Bishops "*whom the Apostles left as their successors, delivering to them their own post of government*," and that he at once proceeds to make special mention of the Bishops of Rome. (2ndly) That in two passages, of which Eusebius gives the Greek in *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 11, Irenæus calls Hyginus "*the ninth*" Bishop of Rome; and will Mr. C. inform us how he could have been this without counting St. Peter himself as *first?* Compare his list in Euseb. v. 6,—where, reckoning "*from the Apostles*," Hyginus is counted as the *eighth*.

XXI. The words of TERTULLIAN, "The Church of the Romans recounts that Clement was ordained by Peter" (*Præscrip. adv. Hær.*), were explained in my tract,

p. 30; and Mr. C. commits himself to another untruth when he says:—"*And yet this tract writer says, according to the evidence of Tertullian, he* (*Peter*) *lived till the year* 91, in order to appoint Clement his successor" (Collette, p. 22).

XXII. "HIPPOLYTUS *has nowhere said any such thing*,"—viz., that St. Peter was first Bishop of Rome,—says Mr. C. (p. 22). But this denial is made in the face of the evidence admitted and substantiated by the most learned Protestant writers of the day. See my tract, p. 15, and *supra*, no. x.

XXIII. The words of FIRMILLIAN and CYPRIAN speak for themselves (see my tract, pp. 14-15), and Mr. C. can say nothing to invalidate their testimony. I may add that St. Cyprian, like St. Irenæus (see above, no. xx.), calls Hyginus "the *ninth* Bishop of Rome" (qui in urbe *nonus* fuit, *Epist.* 74); which further shows that he counted St. Peter as the first.

XXIV. Mr. Collette's statements (p. 24) regarding the Chronicle of EUSEBIUS, have been already answered in no. xi.

XXV. "*The work* (*of* OPTATUS) *purposed to be quoted is a forgery there can be no doubt . . .* Du Pin undertook to edit the works of Optatus, but *he said this was so difficult, as not the slightest reliance could be placed on their genuineness*" (Collette, pp. 24-25).

All these statements are untrue. (1) The genuineness of St. OPTATUS' work *De Schism. Donat.* is not called in question by any Protestant critic. See, *e.g.*, Neander's *Church Hist.*, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. p. 236; Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog. and Literat.*, vol. iv. p. 90 *seq.*; Lightfoot's *Apost. Fath.*, part 1. vol. 1. p. 171. (2) Du Pin never expressed any doubt on the subject. He merely stated that the earlier editions of the work, derived from imperfect manuscripts, were inaccurate and uncritical; but his own edition, published after he had carefully collated all the best MSS., has always been considered a work of the highest authority. It appeared at Paris in 1700, Amsterdam in 1701 and Antwerp in 1702.

XXVI. Mr. Collette thinks he has made a clever dis-

covery in noting that, whereas OPTATUS first published his work in A.D. 372, the list of early Bishops of Rome, contained in book ii., ends with Siricius,—who only succeeded Damasus in A.D. 385. But (1) there is no proof whatever that Optatus did not live to see the accession of Siricius, and that he did not himself insert "*Damaso Siricius*" in a second edition of his work. "*The date of his death is unknown,*" (Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 90). But (2) supposing these words were inserted by an early copyist,—how would this affect the genuineness of the work? Have Protestants been in the habit of rejecting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, because the death of Moses is recorded in the last book?

XXVII. In p. 30, Mr. Collette charges me with "asserting that all the *Canons* of the COUNCIL OF NICE are lost;" though in p. 25 he cites my words:—"The *Acts* of the 1st Council of Nice have been lost." Here Mr. C. simply shows his ignorance as to the difference between the Canons and the Acts of the Council. Of course the facts are stated at length in Hefele's work,—to which I referred. He gives all the *Canons* in the Greek, with a translation.

XXVIII. "*The alleged Canons of the* COUNCIL OF SARDICA," says Mr. C. (p. 26), "*made their appearance, for the first time, more than a century after the holding of that Council, in Latin rendering, whereas all the early Councils are recorded in Greek.*"

In answer to this I will give the learned HEFELE'S account of them:—

"According to the unanimous conclusion arrived at through the inquries of late scholars, especially Spittler and the Ballerini, there can be no doubt that the Canons of Sardica were originally drawn up in both languages, Latin and Greek, as they were intended both for Latins and Greeks. The Greek text is preserved to us in the Collection of John of Constantinople of the 6th century (ap. Justell. *Bibl. Juris Can. Vet.* Paris, 1661. t. II, p. 603) and in several other manuscripts, from which it was first given to the press by the French Bp. Tilius in 1540, and later by Beveridge, Hardouin, and all modern collectors.

Comments were made upon it in the middle ages by three learned Greeks—Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristenus, whose works Beveridge [a learned Protestant bishop] has adopted in his famous *Synodicon*. On the other hand we meet with the original Latin text in the three most celebrated ancient collections of Canons of the West,—the *Prisca*, that of Dionysius Exiguus, and Isidore—the genuine and the false. These three, while differing distinctly from each other in the Latin translation of these Canons which existed originally only in Greek, yet agree so strikingly here, that all three must have been based on one and the same original copy. These three Latin copies, moreover, while agreeing so remarkably with each other, yet so strikingly differ from the Greek text, even in the order of sequence, that their difference can only be sufficiently explained by supposing *that from the first there existed two distinct originals, that is to say, an original Latin and an original Greek copy of the Canons*" (Hist. of Church Councils, Eng. trans. vol. ii. p. 109).

XXIX. "*When the subject of reserving appeals to Julius, Bp. of Rome, was mooted at the Council of Sardica, the Eastern Bishops protested, as introducing a new discipline in the Church; they all quitted the Council and held a separate Council at Philippopolis, and excommunicated Julius and the Western Bishops*" (Collette, p. 26).

Needless to say that every line in this statement is untrue, except the last. (1) The protest of the semi-Arian Bishops had nothing whatever to do with the subject of the Canons regarding appeals to Rome,—of which Canons Mr. C. had just before, in the same page, *denied the authenticity!* (2) The Bishops withdrew simply because St. Athanasius was admitted to the Council. "At the very outset," says a standard Protestant authority, "as the Western Bishops insisted on giving to Athanasius a seat and a voice, the Easterns separated and held a rival Council at Philippopolis, where they confirmed the deposition of Athanasius" (Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 1843). (3) St. Athanasius calls the Council of Sardica "a great Synod," and says that its decrees were signed or agreed to by "more than 300

Bishops" (*Apol. cont. Arian. c.* 1). It was called "Œcumenical" by the Emperor Justinian, in his Edict (A.D. 346) on The Three Chapters (Hardouin, t iii. p. 317). The Greek Council of Trullo, in its 2nd Canon, approved of its decrees (ib. p. 1659), and Pope Nicholas said of them "The whole Church has received them" (see *Cathedra Petri*, 3rd edit. pp. 131-2). I may add, in answer to Mr. Collette's further remarks, that the seventh Canon was cited as *Nicene* by the Bishops of the third Œcumenical Council, who were reassembled at Constantinople, A.D. 382 (see Hefele vol. ii. pp. 133-4, 378); and that the fifth Canon was cited as Nicene, early in the fifth century, by Popes Zozimus, Boniface, Celestine, and Leo the Great; also in the 12th Council of Toledo, in 681 (Hardouin, t. ii. pp. 26, 38, iii. p. 1720, n. 4). The Council was commonly regarded as a continuation of that of Nice (being held less than twenty years afterwards, and attended by many of the prelates who had been present at the latter), and as its Canons were often bound up together in the same volume with those of the earlier Council, they came to be considered as supplementary to them. So much for Mr. Collette's remark, that "to tack these doubtful Canons on to those of Nice has not a particle of authority to support the assertion" (p. 27).

XXX. The shuffling attempt made to get over the evidence afforded by the ŒCUMENICAL COUNCILS OF EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON,—held respectively in A.D. 431 and 451, and composed of 300 and 620 Bishops, nearly all of the *Eastern* Church,—needs no other exposure than a reference to my tract, pp. 11-12; but in my *Cathedra Petri* the extracts are given more at length, with the original Greek text appended (see pp. 24, 111, 112. 113, 135–141); and the whole subject, of the testimony borne by these early Councils to the Papal Supremacy, will be found to be fully elucidated in the Rev. Luke Rivington's recent work, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, London, Longmans & Co.

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